Neighbors or Strangers: Racial Diversity without Racial Integration in a Milwaukee Neighborhood

By

Gina A. Spitz

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The dissertation is approved by the following members of the Final Oral Committee:

Michael M. Bell, Professor, Community and Environmental Sociology
Jane Collins, Professor, Community and Environmental Sociology
Gary Green, Professor, Community and Environmental Sociology
Pamela Oliver, Professor, Sociology
Keith Woodward, Associate Professor, Geography

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INTRODUCTION TO THE THREE DISSERTATION PAPERS

This dissertation examines the conditions under which racial residential integration yields interracial ties and cross-racial interaction, a question that is surprisingly understudied in the sociological literature. To investigate this topic, I distinguish between two types of racial residential integration: 1) *technical integration*, in which residents of different racial groups live in close proximity within a neighborhood (this is the typical conceptualization of integration used by sociologists), and 2) *social integration*, in which residents of different racial groups interact and form meaningful social ties with one another (this is typically understood by sociologists as social capital or social networks). All three dissertation papers examine different aspects of how these phenomena are related.

While racial residential diversity is increasing in neighborhoods across the country, the question of how social integration is accomplished is especially relevant to the contemporary moment. To investigate this question, I analyze data from a year of ethnographic observations and in-depth interviews with 30 neighborhood residents, workers, and business owners residing in a racially diverse neighborhood in Milwaukee, Wisconsin called Riverwest.

Paper one challenges conventional theories of racial residential segregation that are built on the notion that racial integration enables the sort of cross-racial contact that would solve many of the problems posed by racial segregation. First, the paper outlines findings that, despite the racial diversity present within many neighborhood spaces,

spatial and temporal *micro-segregation* significantly limits cross-racial social interactions. Second, though residents regularly traverse racial-spatial boundaries in the neighborhood, the temporary and shallow nature of these crossings contributes to a persistence in social distance between people from different racial groups. It also contributes to the monolithic racialization of different spaces within the neighborhood and between the neighborhood and the majority-black neighborhood to the west. The findings suggest that neighborhood racial diversity, even in micro-spaces where exposure is guaranteed, is insufficient for fostering cross-racial interaction. As of 4/26/2015, this manuscript was selected by the 2015 Chicago Ethnography Conference as one of the best papers given and therefore pre-approved for expedited review at the Journal for Ethnographic and Qualitative Research.

Paper two adds to our understanding of why residents living in racially diverse communities value diversity. In this paper, I found that the reasons valuing the neighborhood's diversity differed by the race of the neighborhood resident. White residents valued diversity as a symbolic good that bolstered their identities as progressive and cosmopolitan. By contrast, black neighbors appreciated neighborhood diversity because it was one of the few places in the city that afforded them everyday tolerance and decency. The findings suggest that the broader context of structural inequality contributes to racial differences in seeking integration through disparate embodied experiences of place.

Paper 3 examines the social-psychological factors at play in neighborhood residents' lack of cross-racial social interaction and cross-racial ties in a racially diverse

neighborhood. Interviewee narratives from residents from multiple racial backgrounds indicate that the development of cross-racial ties among racially diverse neighborhood residents is hindered by two main ways of understanding racial integration in the neighborhood. First, residents perceive threats to both the value of the neighborhood and their own physical safety as a direct result of technical racial integration. Second, residents view social integration as a natural process that should just happen on its own and are resistant to ideas of individual or institutional agency in the accomplishment of social integration. Taken together, these findings imply that residents' perspectives and understandings of racial integration dis-incentivize action towards the achievement of social racial integration in the neighborhood.

RESEARCH SETTING, METHODS, AND SOME ISSUES

This study focuses on the people residing and working in the neighborhood of Riverwest in Milwaukee, WI[1]. I selected Riverwest as my field site because of its statistical diversity, the longevity of its racial diversity (since the 1970s), and its public image within the city of Milwaukee for being racially tolerant and diverse. Most diverse neighborhoods are less persistent over time than other types of neighborhood racial configurations (Holloway, Wright, and Ellis 2012), frequently giving away to gentrification or neighborhood decay. But, Riverwest has been diverse for decades (see Tolan 2003 and the methods section in Paper 1 for more detail). Besides one other neighborhood in Milwaukee known as Sherman Park, Riverwest is exceptional for this

[1] Much of this methodological section is repeated in different forms in the three papers contained in this dissertation document.

diversity (and for its love for it) in a city so deeply defined by its extreme racial segregation. The neighborhood is also prominent because it isn't completely dominated by a single racial group like the rest of the city, even if it is majority-white (~71% white and ~15% black according to the 2010 City of Milwaukee Neighborhood Strategic Planning data). By contrast, the neighborhood immediately to the west of Riverwest (Harambee) is 7% white and 81% black. And a neighborhood immediately east of Riverwest (Riverside Park) is 93% white and only 2% black (see Figure 1). Riverwest's diversity is unique in the Milwaukee metropolitan area, which was included in the top 5 hyper-segregated metro areas in the U.S. in 1990 and 2000 and is considered the second-most segregated city for blacks and whites in the United States according to analysis done on the Census 2010 with the Dissimilarity Index (Logan and Stults 2011). Extreme inequality within the city falls along racially segregated lines. For instance, the average annual income for families with dependents in the poorest zip code (a majority-black area) in the city was just over $20,000, while in richest zip code was a suburban majority-white neighborhood with an average family income of just over $250,000 (Quinn and Pawasarat 2014). As another example, over 40% of black men in Milwaukee between the ages of 25 and 54 are unemployed, while a little over 10% of white men are unemployed in the city (Levine 2013).

Riverwest neighbors also express commitment to diversity (Tolan 2003). Printed signs in residents' windows that were created as part of an anti-racist protest years before read "Riverwest: Diversity is Our Strength." Diversity is part of the brand of the neighborhood – a frequent topic of discussion in neighborhood association meetings and

community events. In these ways, this field site was selected in order to set-up the best possibilities for capturing the social climate in diverse neighborhood spaces. The neighborhood is also a good case to study neighbor-to-neighbor contact because of its high level of civic engagement. The neighborhood has an active neighborhood association, widely advertised, and commonly held neighborhood events; a plethora of neighborhood block watches; its own monthly community newspaper; numerous activist, and non-profit groups with their own rented spaces in the neighborhood; a weekly farmers market; and growing local-only business corridors. In Riverwest, known in the region for its ethno-racial diversity, its progressive politics, its aging hippies, and its younger artists, I thought I might find social integration as well.

Still, cross-racial tensions co-exist with this melting pot image in the neighborhood. Property crime, muggings, and a general sense of fear related to personal safety were expressed by numerous respondents of every racial group. While both black and white respondents argued that the regional news media gave Riverwest a hyperbolic black-on-white crime image by over-representing stories about these crimes, they also expressed concerns about crime coming from the majority-black neighborhood to the west, Harambee. The street separating Harambee and Riverwest, called Holton Street, seemed like almost a no-man's land for many of the residents. Milwaukee's local government often exacerbated racial inequality and racial tensions. For example, Zimmerman (2008) describes instances where representatives of the city threatened majority-black and racially diverse neighborhoods with massive police crackdowns and arrested waves of black inner-city youth for "cruising" by confiscating their cars, all in

the name of preserving the invested developers who were revitalizing areas adjacent to Riverwest.

In order to examine the micro-processes of integration and really analyze scales that the segregation, contact, neighborhood effects, and racial attitudes literature often misses, I chose a qualitative approach. This study draws on a combination of in-depth interviews with 30 neighborhood residents and people that worked or owned businesses in the neighborhood and a year of ethnographic observations at various neighborhood social places and events, including bars, crime-watch meetings, street festivals, and organizational meetings. I made initial interview contacts by visiting a community center, a bookstore, a grocery co-op, and other neighborhood organizations and businesses. I then expanded the sample by using snowball sampling to recruit additional interviewees. The initial interviewees are disproportionately passionate about their neighborhood and its diversity, given that my initial sample began at places where neighborhood activists hung out. Rather than a weakness, I view this as a strength, since I was able to interview people who were more likely to know more about the goings on in the neighborhood, give me the most informative tips on where to go in the neighborhood to observe racial integration, and provide a window into the "best-case-scenario" of residential diversity that could lead to social racial integration. In this way, my formal interview respondent sample is most similar to what is known as a "key informant sample," which draws on subjects because of their expertise (Marshall 1996). In this case, living or working in the neighborhood and going out to public places in the neighborhood on a semi-regular basis constitute expertise on the research question at hand. I utilized my initial twenty

interviewees' understandings of the most diverse public places and events in the neighborhood in order to comprise this ethnographic place sample. In terms of racial composition, the interviewee sample approximately mirrors the racial composition of the neighborhood (The sample is 66% white and 17% black), though it is not perfectly representative (nor is it meant to be) of the neighborhood population.

Formal interviews were semi-structured and took between one and four hours with each respondent. Importantly, my interview protocol was written so that I did not bring up the issue of racial integration or diversity until the middle of the interview. This way, I could ask generally about respondents' reasons for moving to the neighborhood and activities and people they knew from the neighborhood without cueing race in a way that would trigger social desirability bias among respondents who wished to appear to have more racially diverse lives (Krumpal 2013).

I also did informal ethnographic interviews with more than 50 people during my year-long stay in the neighborhood and visits to neighborhood meetings, festivals and other events, police district meetings, and at numerous neighborhood bars. These interviews were helpful to my study because they allowed me to better contextualize a respondent's interpretation of their immediate surroundings and understand their relevant meaning-making related to place (Emerson, Fretz, and Shaw 1995). To analyze field note data and interview transcripts, I first employed inductive open-coding techniques to allow for the emergence of initial codes from the data, and then narrowed my codes to a substantial list and used those to code later data as well as to refine some of my interview questions. With small numbers of formal interviewees, qualitative researchers often

highlight narratives from interviewees who either represent a particular subset of interviewees (in this case, usually the respondent's race) or a theme in the data that is common across a majority of interviewees. Following this approach, the three papers in this dissertation are representative of a shortened list of focused codes that emerged as the most important trends in my interview data. Admittedly, quotations were also selected on who was able to articulate ideas the most strikingly or in the way that I could most easily connect (i.e. generalize) to other interviewees in the sample who expressed similar narratives, just less eloquently or generalizable-y.

Methodological Issues

1. Respondents' low-bar for racial diversity

First, an evaluation of residents' statements on racial diversity reveals that they apply different standards to considering a space racially or ethnically integrated, which made interpreting their statements about racially diverse places in the city difficult. In particular, many of the residents seem to think that with only a few individuals from non-white groups, a space should be considered diverse. Though I expected whites to conceptualize integration this way more than blacks or other minorities, this arguably "low-bar" for racial integration was portrayed by residents across multiple racial categories. For instance, Jayden, a black male business owner and neighborhood resident in his early 30s, provides evidence for the diversity of the neighborhood by saying that he "rarely see[s] a particular race dominate an event. It doesn't happen often." However, he follows up by saying that, even when the type of music at an event may appeal more to a particular group of people, the crowd is never "purely" one group or another, because the

crowd is always "littered" with a small amount of individuals of different races. In this view, whites, blacks, or Latinos would have to *completely* dominate an event or a space in order to be classified as segregated. He proceeded to give me a few examples of diverse spaces, two concerts that had occurred in local bars recently, where there were "a couple of African-Americans and Latinos at each."

Second, I also found that residents' folk notions of integration were indeed much more technical than social, even if their stated definitions of racial integration involved elements of social integration like cross-racial social interaction or cross-racial ties. Respondents' narratives of racially integrated places emphasized a practical understanding of integration that required that people of different racial groups had to be in the same place at the same time. For example, though interviewees complained about a lack of diversity in the Riverwest Neighborhood Association Meetings and at some local events, their complaints were usually based on not having enough diverse bodies in the room – a very technical reading of integration. Additionally, almost all respondents brought up the many street festivals that occur in the neighborhood over the summer, as primary examples of integration. Norman, a white male neighborhood activist and longtime Riverwest resident in his 60s, mentioned a two-day block party festival called Locust Street Days as a primary exemplar of neighborhood integration. Locust Street Days was borne of a 1970s neighborhood-based protest movement that successfully kept the city from building a freeway down Locust Street – a main center of small businesses

and restaurants in the neighborhood. [2] The festival currently boasts a large number of live music acts, a "beer run," vendors, food, and games that cater to a diverse crowd, partially drawn from the neighborhood and partially drawn from the larger Milwaukee area.

Maya, a 34 year-old white-identifying Hispanic woman who moved to the neighborhood six years earlier also highlighted this festival:

> Maya: Locust Street Days is another good cross-section of the community. That is actually…have you ever been to Locust Street Days?
>
> Me: No I haven't been but I want to go.
>
> Maya: And I don't go to that many of the street festivals just because it's not really my thing, but I LOVE Locust Street Days. It's just a really, really fun event that I think does a good job of showing or bringing together all the people that do live in this neighborhood.

Both of these Riverwest residents convey the essential importance of different people being in the same place at the same time, in this case, enjoying the same event, as illustrative of the diversity of their community. In Maya's narrative she uses the language of "showing" people together in one place such that the image of people of different races engaging in activities next to each other in a public space becomes the most defining aspect of this event as an integrated one. As Norman says, "the ways to come together are helped by all the events we have." Indeed, at festivals, people of different racial and ethnic identities participate in the same activities and consume the same food.

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[2] Locust Street *was* widened into a boulevard just west of Holton Street in the majority African-American neighborhood; effectively cutting that neighborhood in half and destroying some of the small businesses there.

Together, the emphasis on a very small amount of racial diversity and technical integration within respondents' narratives both limits the validity of relying solely on residents' conceptions of neighborhood diversity to gauge racial residential integration in Riverwest. Ethnographic fieldwork observations were particularly helpful in providing triangulation that I could compare and contrast with these low-bar conceptualizations of neighborhood integration. Additionally, these resident perspectives on racial integration are themselves interesting findings that can be expanded upon in future analysis of research data.

2. Gender positionality in urban qualitative fieldwork

As a single-[seeming] white woman performing research in a neighborhood where women seemed to never go out alone at night, my gender came to shape my research in some important ways. Following the lead of several other female ethnographers in recent years (Lumsden 2009; Soyer 2013), I feel that acknowledging both the personal and structural ways that being a woman affected the trajectory of my research can reveal much about the conditions of ethnographers' and interviewers' work and also the subjects of our research.

In one way, the anxiety that negative sexualized encounters produced for me foreclosed some of the opportunities I had for doing more ethnographic field interviews and engaging in more social interaction with people in my fieldwork. Two particular instances of sexual harassment played into this more than others, though I generally experienced daily low-level harassment in my fieldwork. In one of the worst incidences, a very drunk man started caressing my shoulders from behind as an "apology massage"

after he had accidentally bumped me. In this brief, unwanted physical encounter, he came very close to grabbing my breasts. At the time, I froze and then ran away to the bathroom. I was taken off guard and scared by the physicality of the encounter, and this made me much more guarded around drunken men in night-time contexts.

During the other particularly bad experience, I was shopping in the local Walmart, located on the north side of the neighborhood right off Capitol Drive. As I walked in, there were two older teen-aged black men standing in front of one of the aisle displays, who started cat-calling me and also saying, "hey baby, can I talk to you?" and commenting on my body. As I often do in response to cat-calling, I rolled my eyes, said nothing, and kept on walking. This made one of the men mad. He spun around and began following me through the store, calling me "a bitch" and asking why I didn't respond. His friend followed closely behind but said nothing. I quickened my pace and "lost" them because they didn't continue to pursue me past the first five aisles I passed in the store. As the main instrument of qualitative research for this dissertation project, I feel it necessary to acknowledge the effect these two incidences and the daily sexual harassment had on my research. At times, I came to embody an almost anti-social presence in neighborhood spaces that likely prevented potential research subjects from engaging with me. Though I would still call most of my ethnographic observations "participatory", mine became a silent and guarded sort of participation, especially towards the end of the fieldwork period.

On the other hand, I think being a woman got me access to many of my interviewees as well. Women, particularly white women, are often seen as less

threatening, which could have helped me gain access to other female interviewees in particular, but also men who might have anticipated less tolerance and more anger in reaction to controversial talk about race. In some ways, I think the same sexual aspects that led to my own self-foreclosure of some ethnographic interview opportunities made some men more willing to talk with me in formal interviewers. Two of my formal male interviewees behaved flirtatiously with me leading up to and during the interview, and one of them asked me on a date right after our interview as well (which I declined as politely as possible).

Additionally, I realized at the beginning of my ethnographic entrance into nighttime settings that women were almost never present at bars alone for any significant time. Though this finding doesn't so easily fit into the scope of the following three dissertation papers included here, it nevertheless provides evidence that bolsters scholarship that women continue to face social norms that limit their independent movement through urban social spaces. More relevant to this dissertation, these experiences underscore the continued sexism pervasive in public urban settings that pose significant barriers for female researchers. While significant discussion exists in the sociological scholarship about the need for reflexivity and a serious consideration of positionality when performing research, it seems that discussions about how one's gender (or race or sexuality, etc.) becomes a serious limitation to research because of the social oppression experienced in the field is still relegated to conversations in hushed voices amongst friends and close colleagues. Knowing that the experiences I outlined above are experienced by a great many female researchers who do ethnography and interviews, I

think there is a need for a larger conversation in sociology about how to incorporate that better into the research itself. Equally important, this is a topic methods training courses should cover – not to discourage marginalized people from doing great qualitative work, but to provide much needed guidance and tools for when these issues inevitably come up.

IMPLICATIONS TO SCHOLARSHIP ON RACIAL INTEGRATION

My dissertation responds to lines of scholarship that pit diversity and community at odds with one another. One is in the community psychology literature and is most recently summarized in Neal and Neal's (2014) piece, "The Incompatibility of Diversity and Sense of Community," published in the *American Journal of Community Psychology*. In this piece, Neal and Neal argue (2014:10):

> Community programs designed to shape the local ecology into one that fosters a respect for diversity are likely to have a problematic unintended consequence: also shaping the local ecology into one that diminishes a sense of community. Likewise, community programs designed to shape the local ecology into one that fosters a sense of community are likely to also shape it into one that diminishes respect for diversity.

Their study used Agent Based Modeling (ABM), setting up various contexts of diversity within which simulated agents decide to form friendships (or not). Though the authors note that their models could over- or understate the relationship between diversity and sense of community due to the model's lack of consideration or intersectional identities and/or community events that unite people, Neal and Neal (2014) aren't very optimistic about the ability to foster a respect for diversity and a strong sense of community. They

say somewhat dismissively that homophily is a universal human tendency, and therefore likely to carry on undermining social cohesion in diverse contexts and that therefore, one will always come at the expense of the other.

Putnam (2007) put forth a similar thesis of incompatibility between racial diversity and social cohesion. His 2007 lecture published in *Scandinavian Political Studies* "E. Pluribus Unum: Diversity and Community in the Twenty-first Century" set off a series of debates about this argument. Though Putnam's paper relies less on data about long-term African American residents in the United States and more on data about recent immigrants, he claims that ethno-racial diversity has an overall negative effect on social cohesion. Like Neal and Neal (2014), Putnam relies on a sort-of-theory about human nature in making his point. He draws on many points in US history, such as the integration of black and white US troops in WWII and the correlation between troops' homogeneity and desertion rates in the American Civil War, in order to draw conclusions about these universal patterns in human history. Putnam's empirical evidence is drawn from a national level survey of "communities" that vary in geographic size from the level of whole metropolitan areas like Los Angeles to small towns like Yakima, WA, so it is hardly specific to the neighborhood level and is generally unable to measure neighborhood-level diversity or cohesion at all. Still, he does find a statistically significant negative correlation between the ethno-racial diversity of these areas and the amount that each respondent 'trusts' individuals in three other ethno-racial outgroups, how much each respondent 'trusts' their real-life neighbors (generally, without regard to the racial or economic composition of their neighborhoods), and how much each

respondent ‘trusts’ members of their own ethno-racial group. He also found that respondents living in areas with greater ethno-racial diversity had lower trust and participation in formal local government, including voting; lower participation in community charity and projects; and lower overall amount of social ties and social activities. Putnam therefore concludes that “Diversity seems to trigger not in-group/out-group division, but anomie or social isolation” (2007:149). Putnam therefore calls for further research on the mechanisms that link diversity with social isolation – a task my dissertation puts at the forefront.

A prominent rebuttal to these theories is found in Portes and Vickstrom's (2011) paper. Here, they argue using subsequent studies that Putnam’s (2007) findings are actually the result of processes related to economic inequality and racial segregation that persists in American communities.

> Empirically, many of the alleged benefits of communitarian social capital turn out to be correlates, rather than consequences; most of these correlations are jointly dependent, in turn, on more basic structural factors of which inequality, level of education of the population, and its racial-ethnic composition are paramount. Once these factors are controlled, the alleged beneficial effects of social capital largely disappear. (2011:476)

To Portes and Vickstrom (2011), Putnam’s (2007) preoccupation with diversity as a causal effect of his old *Bowling Alone* cultural problematic simply distracts us from the more important social-structural phenomena of inequality and segregation. Romero's (2005:610) review article argues that scholars can either work toward the "goals of

reducing racial divides and dismantling institutional racism" or ignore those goals in favor of a disconnected focus on talk over action. But, this is where I disagree with their critique. While admittedly, I struggled to bring considerations of inequality into my own study that was so focused on the micro-level of social interactions and also racial attitudes and ties, I think my dissertation project demonstrates that these contextual and social-psychological dynamics are one of the very mechanisms that can powerfully influence the degree to which social integration is achieved within a community. The first dissertation paper describes some of the main ways that social segregation remains, spatially and temporally, in racially diverse neighborhood spaces, and the third dissertation paper explores some of the social-psychological and discursive factors that present barriers to social integration. I believe that an engagement with the micro-sociology of social segregation is necessary to understand the macro-trends of racial inequality and segregation that the aforementioned authors argue that scholars focus more energy on.

While this dissertation presents a case study that can in some ways be seen to confirm Putnam's (2007) and Neal and Neal's (2014) findings, at least in the sense of finding barriers to social integration, I argue against the incompatibility of technical and social integration. In fact, I argue that previous scholarship on macro-level trends in these two negatively correlated factors ignore the mechanisms by which these two phenomena are linked, and therefore reinforce the seeming inevitability of the continuance of these trends. By contrast, I started my dissertation project by looking at a case that I suspected would not follow this divergent pattern of diversity and social cohesion. Although I

didn't find much social integration across racial groups in this case, I suggest that future studies examine more cases to investigate these questions and I suspect that there might be more positive results in diverse neighborhoods that are located in less segregated metropolitan areas. Also, in the dissertation conclusion, I discuss some signs of hope for greater social integration in the technically racially integrated neighborhood of Riverwest that I think should reinvigorate the discussion around the *possibilities* for social integration. After all, it's often not by looking at the past, but by looking forward and creating change that we can break out of the universal or natural seeming patterns of social segregation.

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PAPER 1: SEGREGATED INTEGRATION: RACIAL DIVERSITY IN NEIGHBORHOOD SPACES

ABSTRACT

Conventional theories of racial residential segregation are built on the notion that racial integration will solve many of the problems that segregation has created and maintained, in part by enabling cross-racial contact. And yet, consequential interracial contact is hardly guaranteed by racial diversity. This study uses a year of ethnographic fieldwork in a racially diverse neighborhood in Milwaukee, WI and interviews with 30 neighborhood residents, workers, and business owners, to examine how neighborhood residential diversity affects cross-racial interactions there. The study found that, despite the racial diversity present within many neighborhood spaces, spatial and temporal *micro-segregation* limits cross-racial social interactions. Further, though residents regularly traverse racial-spatial boundaries in the neighborhood, the temporary and shallow nature of these crossings contributes to a persistence in social distance between people from different racial groups. The findings suggest that neighborhood racial diversity, even in micro-spaces where exposure is guaranteed, is insufficient for fostering cross-racial interaction.

INTRODUCTION

Racially segregated cities and neighborhoods are notorious contributors to racial inequality and social distance between racial groups. The literature argues then that at least part of the solution to the problems posed by racial segregation is its opposite; racial residential integration (e.g., Farley and Frey 1994; Wilson 1987). The growing number of neighborhoods with significant ethno-racial diversity across the nation (Holloway, Wright, and Ellis 2012) offers scholars the opportunity to examine the impacts of racial diversity on racial equality, racial attitudes, and cross-racial ties. Current scholarship on the effects of growing racial diversity in US communities focus on the effects of interracial contact on attitudes, and the effects of area diversity on overall levels of social cohesion. Hipp and Perrin's (2009) study confirmed a rather intuitive hypothesis that greater physical propinquity in residence is associated with more reported neighborhood-based ties for residents, but surprisingly little scholarship has focused on how neighborhood-level racial diversity translates into cross-racial social interactions and cross-racial social ties. Moreover, despite the increasingly racially diverse neighborhood contexts for contact in this country, the persistence of racial and ethnic homophily for every kind of social tie in the US, from marriage (Kalmijn 1998) to friendship (Shrum, Cheek Jr., and Hunter 1988) casts doubt on hopes for positive race relations or reduced racial inequality as the direct result of racial contact.

Still, a plethora of studies have indeed found that interracial contact does lead to less prejudice (Pettigrew and Tropp 2006), reduce negative emotions like anxiety (Pettigrew and Tropp 2008),and can lead to empathy and other positive affect between

groups (Ellison, Shin, and Leal 2011; Pettigrew and Tropp 2008). On the other hand, recent studies that speak to the contact hypothesis have also provided some evidence that inter-group contact can actually propel the segregation and re-segregation of groups (Pettigrew 2008, Dixon et al. 2008). Other studies confirm that contact with highly stigmatized outgroups have a negative impact on attitudes to those groups, especially with casual, street-level contact (Wessel 2009). Over and above this debate, the contact hypothesis literature has a few blind spots that this study seeks to address. Studies following classic contact theory commonly ignore space as a factor in contact, often ignores the quality and level of contact (i.e. seeing and ignoring vs. interacting), and is largely concerned with the outcome of attitudinal tolerance of the outgroup (also measured as everything from passive acceptance to active promotion) over other social effects (see review by Wessel 2009).

Elijah Anderson's (2011) ethnography of public spaces in various Philadelphia neighborhoods can be seen as a place-based test of the contact hypothesis. Anderson frames these diverse communities as zones for the production of "cosmopolitan canopies" where the presence of individuals of different racial and ethnic groups, both interacting with each other, and often just co-existing, enhances urban multi-racial civility and decreases animosity between groups through contact. In a very hopeful note, Anderson writes, "through personal observation, they may come casually to appreciate one another's differences and empathize with the other in a spirit of shared humanity" (2011: xv). His ethnographic account seems to provide further evidence for the contact hypothesis, which states that inter-group contact will reduce prejudice and increase

positive affect between different groups. And yet, the effects of contact for anything other than attitudes or even just peaceful and pleasant coexistence between racial groups are largely unstudied.

My study addresses problems in the contact hypothesis literature and the segregation literature by grounding the analysis of outcomes in the specific context of public neighborhood spaces where we might expect "neighboring" contact occur and/or segregation to take place at a micro-level. With the exception of Anderson's (2011) aforementioned work along with Wellman's (1979, 2001) studies that argue that highlights the power of an individual's choice and secondary associations over propinquity in social interaction and ties, previous scholarship has operationalized face-to-face contact between individuals as probabilities of exposure given the proportion of people in a space.

Similarly, the segregation literature features prominent "research that treats distance as an indicator of access to other people or resources," most commonly estimating that distance by assigning people to census tracts and measuring their relative proximity to each other (Logan 2012: 511). Logan points out that while segregation researchers have recently gained much greater access to geocoded data and more precise spatial measures of proximity, there still exists a fundamental question or how and from what scale should researchers model neighborhoods. I argue that both the contact and segregation literatures model racial integration in ways that often elide the real-life micro-scale that is fundamental to how racial integration processes take place. More specifically, I argue that these models miss what I call *social integration* – the formation

of cross-racial ties and practices of cross-racial interaction that can take place within micro-spaces in neighborhoods. Instead, models of contact and integration often assume social integration within neighborhoods where they just measure high amounts of what I call *technical integration* – people of different racial groups living within a certain proximity to each other. Technical integration is the way that most sociologists, especially those working on questions of racial segregation, usually conceptualize integration and segregation as a whole.

Currently, little is known about how these are related (Hewstone and Swart 2011), which is surprising given that social interactions and relationships are key mechanisms through which both race relations and racial inequality are shaped. To date, Britton's (2011) survey-based study of Harris County, Texas is the only study that has sought to link diversity and social ties, with mixed results. Britton found that blacks' claims of black-white friendships were more likely if they lived in an integrated community. But he found the opposite to be true for whites – they are less likely to claim interracial friendships when they live in integrated communities. Britton's study suggests that greater racial diversity in a neighborhood may affect social ties in different ways depending on racial group membership. However, his research is limited by a reliance on survey data to gauge cross-racial ties, a method which may be vulnerable to social desirability bias. Using ethnographic methods that allow me to investigate the lived experiences of neighborhood residents from a first-hand perspective, this study builds on these previous findings by uncovering important spatial and social factors linking diversity and social relations in the neighborhood context.

My study also extends the contact hypothesis literature by taking physical spaces of interaction into account. Telling a story of race relations at the micro-level means understanding how social dynamics and spatial dynamics relate. Sociology has only recently paid much attention to space as more than simply a stage for social action (Warf and Arias 2009). More often, despite social scientists' and human geographers' calls to examine the processes of social construction of spaces into "places" (Gupta and Ferguson 1992; Pratt 1999; Zukin 1993), sociologists conflate the two; particularly through quantitative methods (Logan 2012). Entwisle (2007), critiques common methods of quantitative modeling of space and place for de-emphasizing and sometimes altogether ignoring the role of human agency and grounded social practice that collectively shapes the places people reside and work in. Logan (2012) even shows that social scientists directly interpret spatial effects in their models as social interaction itself.

This practice of conflating space with contact contradicts theories of place in several social science literatures. Many urban sociologists have examined how spaces are also symbolically and sometimes racially constructed. Zukin has argued that urban spaces are "ensembles of material and social practices and their symbolic representations" (1993:16), and Arreola (1995) proposes that space is specifically constructed by and with race. Human geographers have pointed out that space has symbolic power and can be "inescapably normative" (Schein 2006:5). In hyper-segregated cities like Milwaukee, there are definitely "black parts of town" and "white parts of town," and common social practices that respect and enforce those spatial boundaries. However, interpretations and

measurements of their strength and physical placement are not consistently conceptualized in the sociological literature (Logan 2012).

This paper looks at a "diverse part of town" in order to analyze how this particular form of place-making relates to actual grounded social practice. On a broader level, because segregated places provide "differential access to the resources and amenities necessary to live and enjoy life" (Frazier, Margai, and Tettey-Fio 2003:9), it is important to understand how integrated space may or may not provide contexts for connections across race that have been shown to reduce such disparities. But rather than cataloguing actual inequalities, this study investigates social interactions and ties across race in a diverse, urban neighborhood with good chances of observing these social phenomena. I chose the Riverwest neighborhood in Milwaukee, WI as my fieldsite because this place 1) was significantly more racially diverse than the most other neighborhoods in the city; 2) had been racially diverse for several decades; and 3) people within the neighborhood were known to be at least symbolically invested in its diverse character.

Even in this best-case-scenario, though, my findings are pessimistic about the ability for neighborhood diversity to translate into contact that amounts to more than co-existence in close space. In the paper that follows, I show that even in neighborhood places where diversity flourishes, racial segregation remains, and social distance even increases in certain circumstances. I contend therefore that present sociological conceptualizations of racial residential integration cannot capture racial segregation or integration because they do not fully consider micro-contexts within neighborhood or the roles of perception and social interaction in (re)producing segregation and social distance.

In doing so, I demonstrate the importance of bringing in the symbolic role of space and spatial boundaries in order to understand the linkages between diversity and race relations. Taken together, these processes effectively stymie most cross-racial interactions and the formation of cross-racial ties. In other words, even technical integration at the micro-level, within a neighborhood that prides itself on that diversity, can fail to positively influence the level of social integration there.

DATA AND METHODS

Though neighborhoods actually are made up of discrete spaces and conditions of contact as the foundations of "neighboring", "these setting are largely absent in research on neighborhood contact" (Wessel 2009:10). This project zeros in on these social neighborhood spaces. I conducted a year of ethnographic observations at various neighborhood social places and events, including bars, crime-watch meetings, street festivals, and other organizational meetings and interviews with twenty-nine black, white, and Latino/a residents and business owners. I triangulated observational findings with interview data on the perceptions and narratives of racial integration with in order to best inspect contradictions between observed action in diverse residential spaces and narratives of diversity by neighborhood residents. The daily ethnographic observations were particularly helpful in providing detailed insight into the complexities and nuances of diverse residential places. More detailed interview data is analyzed in other papers (see Spitz 2015a, 2015b).

Figure 1: Google Map of Milwaukee's Riverwest Neighborhood [borders in red]

I chose the Riverwest neighborhood as my fieldsite for both its statistical diversity and its reputation within the city of Milwaukee for being racially tolerant and diverse – exceptional in a city so deeply fraught with racial tension and racial segregation. Once a mostly-Polish neighborhood that housed many blue-collar workers that commuted just a few blocks to the industrial area just to the north, the Riverwest neighborhood is now well-known for housing progressive activists, bohemians, and artists. It is also prominent because of what it is *not*. It is not a black neighborhood, a Latino neighborhood, or even

quite a white neighborhood – a distinguishing feature in the highly segregated city of Milwaukee, WI. Milwaukee was included in the top 5 hyper-segregated metro areas in the U.S. in 1990 and 2000 and is considered the second-most segregated city for blacks and whites in the United States according to analysis done on the Census 2010 with the Dissimilarity Index (Logan and Stults 2011). Demographically, Riverwest is much more technically integrated than the Milwaukee neighborhoods that surround it. In 2010, 71% of the neighborhood population was white and 15% of the population was black (City of Milwaukee Neighborhood Strategic Planning data). By contrast, the neighborhood immediately to the west of Riverwest (Harambee) is 7% white and 81% black. And a neighborhood immediately east of Riverwest (Riverside Park) is 93% white and only 2% black. Riverwest is close to the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, and therefore has a significant (mostly white) student population in addition to a mixture of black, white, and Latinos/as (8% of the population in 2010). In comparison with Milwaukee County's overall racial demographics, 66% white and 26% black group populations (2010 census, American Factfinder), Riverwest has only slightly larger white population than the county.

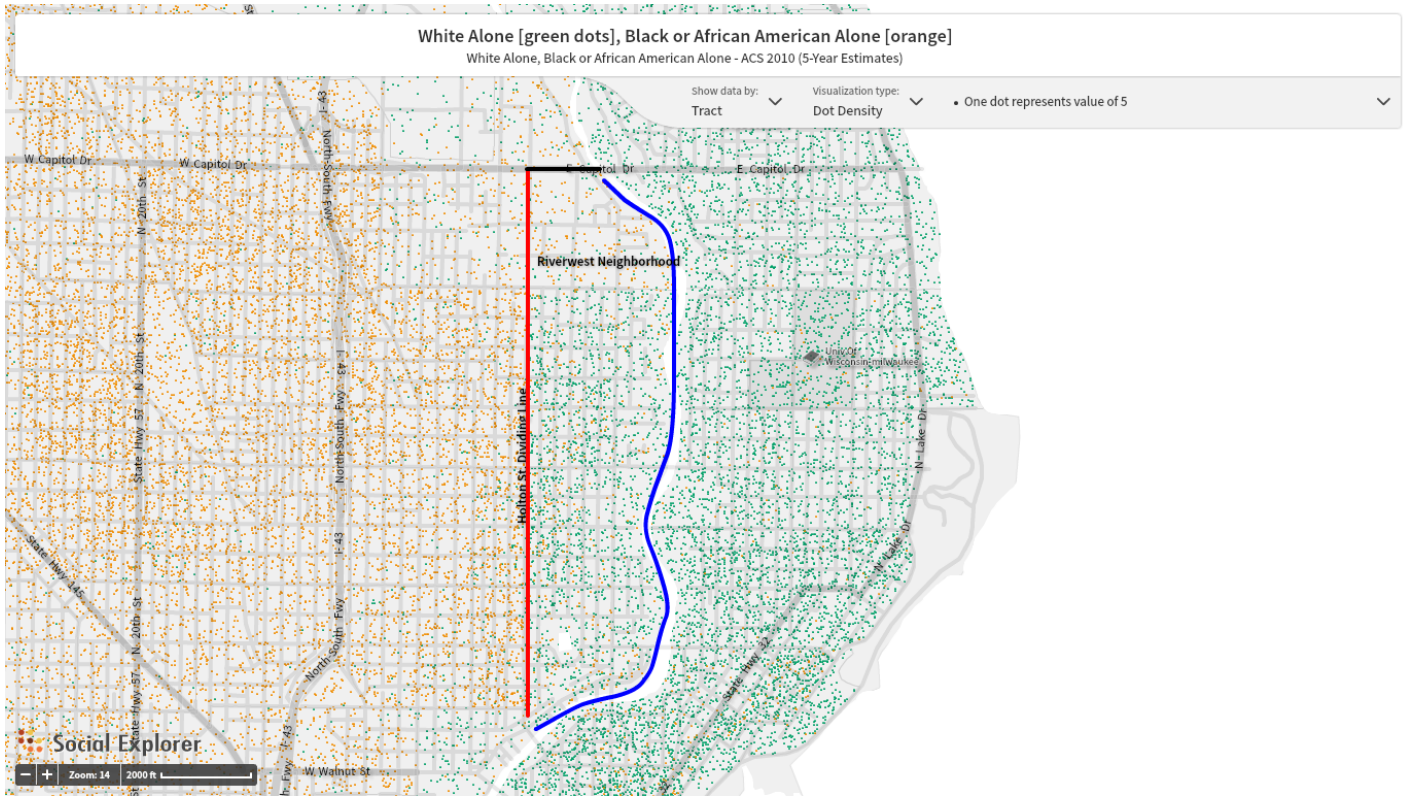

Figure 2: Maps of White [Green Dots] and Black [Orange Dots] Density from ACS 2010 data

In many ways, Riverwest represents a best case scenario within the segregated Milwaukee metropolitan area. Because interracial contact is more likely with residential propinquity (Mcpherson, Smith-Lovin, & Cook 2001, Hipp and Perrin 2009), a racially diverse neighborhood is a particularly appropriate context in which to study intergroup contact. Riverwest has also reportedly been diverse for decades. To illustrate this, we can look at one or more of the five census tracts that comprise the neighborhood over time. Fortunately for this analysis, the five Milwaukee County Census Tracts overlap perfectly with the socially constructed and accepted boundaries that my interviewees reported: The southern and eastern boundaries are delineated by the Milwaukee River, the northern boundary is a busy commercial corridor called Capitol Drive, and the western boundary is the boundary between the Harambee and Riverwest neighborhoods where a major racial shift also occurs from racially diverse between whites and blacks in the Riverwest neighborhood and almost all black in the Harambee neighborhood.[3] In Table 1 below, I show some fluctuations between percentages of the Riverwest neighborhood population occurred over time. For all five census tracts, a pattern can be characterized as a larger percentage population share of whites in 1990, then an increased percentage share of blacks in 2000 (although blacks remained in the numerical minority), and then a resurgence in the percentage share of whites in 2010.

[3] Because whites and blacks are the two numerically dominant groups in the northern part of Milwaukee, and also the biggest part of my interviewee sample, I decided to exclude Latino/as from my analysis here.

Milwaukee County Census Tract	1990 Census Data	2000 Census Data	2010 ACS 5-Year Data
71	69% white 19% black	59% white 24% black	74% white 20% black
72	77% white 15% black	67% white 20% black	74% white 18% black
79	84% white 11% black	73% white 17% black	82% white 8% black
80	55% white 27% black	51% white 29% black	58% white 18% black
107	53% white 31% black	48% white 37% black	58% white 23% black

Table 1: Black and White Percentages of Riverwest Neighborhood

The concept of diversity is itself at the crux of the neighborhood's valued and highly prized reputation. Riverwest is "diverse-by-design" (Maly and Nyden 2000); many residents undertake efforts to promote racial diversity through their local activism, event planning, and discursive representations of the neighborhood. Most of my interviewees, across all racial categories, mentioned the diversity of the neighborhood as being on a short list of primary motivations for moving to or staying in the neighborhood. I demonstrate that diversity as a motivating factor and value of neighborhood residents elsewhere (see Spitz 2015a).

On the one hand, classic sociological theory such as that in Georg Simmel's "The Metropolis and Mental Life" (1903) has long held that urban places are characterized by widespread anonymity and hyper-individualism that discourages meaningful, prolonged,

or friendly interactions between anyone, regardless of race, and more recent scholarship such as Portes and Vickstrom's (2011) study argued that people display a “slight mutual aversion” (citing Simmel 1964 [1903]) between each other on urban streets and in other public places (p 473). Still, the passionate embrace of diversity by my initial interviewees gave me hope for my search for social integration. Indeed, Riverwest's purported love for diversity and my choice to study intimate, smaller spaces like bars and festivals over a focus on the urban street made it a good test case for potential social integration across race.

The neighborhood has a robust tradition of civic participation, centered on volunteer-based institutions such as neighborhood associations, a community newspaper, and several co-ops. Riverwest residents also boast about the area’s diversity and incorporate it as a goal in local social movements and activities. Changes in the neighborhood’s resident composition or problems endemic to Riverwest are both fought against actively by Riverwest residents in order to preserve this ‘natural’ and diverse residential harmony. For example, several residents mentioned the overwhelming community response to an incident a few years earlier when neo-Nazi groups distributed literature in the neighborhood and sprayed racist graffiti around the neighborhood. People from the neighborhood across racial lines got together and marched down the main streets of the neighborhood in protest and made signs that still hang in people’s windows today that say, “Riverwest: Diversity is Our Strength”.

Figure 3: Sign in the window of a Riverwest home.

Figure 4: Sign in a different Riverwest yard

Longer-term residents are also currently engaged in a fight against the increasing amount of mostly-white college students moving into the neighborhood in recent years due to the expansion of the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee campus. Though these college students are not explicitly identified as white, most of them are both white and higher-income. Neighborhood groups have organized to reject permits to build dorms in

the neighborhood and made more concerted efforts to call the police on drunken, loud college parties occurring in the neighborhood. In other words, activist residents of the Riverwest neighborhood, of which there are many, seek to maintain the current racial composition of the neighborhood. Tom Tolan, the historian behind a commonly read book in the neighborhood called *Riverwest: A Community History* (2003), recognizes this draw of the neighborhood as a historically accurate one as well. “In the early twenty-first century,” Tolan writes, “the earnestly held belief to the neighborhood’s most visible leaders is that diversity is good, that there is abiding value in people of different ethnic backgrounds living side by side” (page 10).

Figure 5: Map of 2013 Robbery Crimes from COMPASS

Still, cross-racial tensions abound in Riverwest. Property crime and muggings are often portrayed as a racialized problem in the local media, with many stories featuring black-on-white crime, despite the more common occurrence of black-on- black crime in the area. This was a common complaint from many interviews, both black and white. The editors and owners of the Riverwest Currents' local newspaper stated that part of their mission is to dispel these types of stereotypes about Riverwest. And yet, as Figure 3 shows above, the instances of robbery compared across Riverwest, mostly-black

Harambee neighborhood to the West, and the mostly-white East Side neighborhoods hardly differ at all.

The findings discussed in this paper draw on my year-long residency in the Riverwest neighborhood, during which I went to innumerable events and social spaces in the neighborhood to do interviews and perform observations. I made initial interview contacts by visiting a community center, a bookstore, a grocery co-op, and other neighborhood organizations and businesses. I then expanded the sample by using snowball sampling to recruit additional interviewees. The interviewee sample, also used as data elsewhere in the project, is mostly white, but with a sizable minority of black and Latino/a respondents. This sample approximately mirrors the racial composition of the neighborhood, though it is not perfectly representative of the neighborhood population. Interviews were semi-structured and took between one and four hours with each respondent. I collected demographic information and history in the neighborhood from interviewees first, followed by open-ended questions about how and where they use the neighborhood, with whom they spend their time outside of work, how they met the people with whom they spend time (in or outside of the neighborhood), places and events in the neighborhood they view as diverse, and also more macro-level questions about how they define and view diversity and racial integration. To analyze field note data and interview transcripts, I first employed inductive open-coding techniques to allow for the emergence of initial codes from the data, and then narrowed my codes to a substantial list and used those to code later data as well as to refine some of my interview questions.

Initial interview participants consistently characterized certain social spaces as being particularly racially diverse. I began with an examination of these spaces, which included various bars, events, and crime meetings held by the police district, to see what kind of technical and social integration I observed there. I paid particular attention to the racial composition of the people in these spaces; the qualities and quantity of their social interactions; what I could perceive were attendees' racial identifications; uses and features of the space, and who controlled elements of activities in the space (for example, if there was an agenda for a meeting or performance taking place). Together, these elements came to be indicators of more or less social integration among my research subjects.

As I went along, I was clued in and invited to more reportedly racially diverse places by interviewees and more casual contacts I made, including neighborhood association meetings, PTA meetings, and additional bars and events. These sites also comprise the ethnographic sample that I discuss in the following sections of the paper, demonstrating how even in these spaces that are perceived to have high rates of technical integration, little to no social integration exists. Why? As I will explain, micro-segregation presents spatial and temporal barriers to face to face contact, and where these barriers are broached, they are done so in ways that merely reinforces social distance. Overall, these findings indicate that cross-racial contact, even in the most diverse neighborhood spaces, might not involve any actual socializing at all. They also show how technical integration, which is the way that most sociologists that study segregation conceptualize integration, may not have much to do with social integration.

FINDINGS

Micro-segregation

By examining neighborhood places and events where racially diverse people are present, I found multiple ways that racial segregation persists on a finer scale – what I call *micro-segregation*. Micro-segregation can occur spatially, by members of different racial categories using the same space and participating in the same event, while socializing only amongst members of their own racial group or remaining physically separated. Micro-segregation can also occur temporally in a particular space, which occurs when the racial composition of that space changes within several minutes or over the course of a day. In the neighborhood context, Micro-segregation can be a key factor in preventing technical and/or social integration from occurring among neighborhood residents, as I demonstrate below. While micro-segregation is rarely captured by traditional measures of cross-racial contact or segregation used by sociologists, it is nevertheless part of everyday life in Riverwest involved in the continuous disassociation between Riverwesters' love for diversity (see Spitz 2015a for more on this) and inner-neighborhood integration.

Perhaps surprisingly, Micro-segregation was part of neighborhood residents' own perceptions of racially integrated spaces as well. For example, interviewees commonly described places where individuals of different racial and ethnic groups come together remained at a distance from members of another racial group. Norman, a 60 year-old white, long-time resident of the neighborhood and neighborhood activist who takes great

pride in Riverwest diversity and its "eclectic," bohemian culture, describes a bar called the Falcon Bowl with a racially diverse crowd:

> [Being at the bar] is like going back in time to 1950 or 1960, and it's been just the same, only now instead of the bowlers being Polish bowlers. I remember bowling down there and there was a guy with a purple Mohawk. So you have people bowling on teams, people playing cribbage, people doing dart-ball, plus all your regular drinking and talking in the bar. And then there's a hall where there are lot of Quinceñeros. [pause] Did I get that right? Spanish 15-year birthday parties.

It is clear that Norman is trying to tell a story of diversity in the neighborhood and to demonstrate the eclectic "vibe" he spoke of earlier in the interview both by pointing to representatives of different kinds of ethnic groups and subcultures in this example. But, you might notice that when Norman points out that there were Mexican Quinceñeras (which he mispronounces as Quinceñeros), he makes a note of that happening in a separate hall, spatially cut-off from the games and other activities he describes. In other words, even within a seemingly connected social space, social interaction remains spatially cut-off along racial lines.

Norman's scene's seemingly contradictory elements diversity and micro-segregation makes more sense when viewed in relation to findings of other scholars on the increasingly popular practice of celebrating cultural diversity as a way to symbolically upgrade neighborhoods and communities whose value has been threatened by ethno-racial diversity and/or urban decline. Grube and Welz (2014:65), for instance,

argue that "in order to function as an asset contributing to the revalorization of formerly declining city spaces, poverty, social exclusion, and ethnic heterogeneity of the resident population are re-coded as 'cultural diversity.' As a neighborhood activist who also referred to Riverwest as occupying a space in the city on "the wrong side of the river." Norman was particularly motivated to portray his neighborhood in a positive light. Norman and the majority of my other interviewees (both black and white), boasted of integrated places with a similar sort of "cosmetic" diversity (Ernst 2010) in their descriptions of integrated spaces. But as Lichter (2013:374) points out, "opportunities for interaction do not ensure affiliation; in group preferences for interaction also matter." If the value of neighborhood diversity is rooted in this sort of cultural or cosmetic diversity, Riverwesters may lack preferences for cross-racial social interactions in these places.

Norman's diversity-without-integration perspective on diversity was one that actually played out in the neighborhood micro-spaces that I examined within the neighborhood as well. My own observations confirmed that micro-segregation was almost all-pervasive in technically integrated neighborhood events and in racially diverse neighborhood spaces. I observed minimal amounts of cross-racial interaction in many of the biggest events that have a lot of racial and ethnic diversity. For example, I attended a different festival in the neighborhood that most people said was among the most diverse, called Center Street Daze. An article by the *Riverwest Currents* newspaper described the festival as "Jugglers, street theater, a pool tournament, vendors, a car show, music, food and crafts" in 2008 and as "a good chance to get out and socialize with your neighbors, eat good food and support local businesses" in 2010. And indeed it was – a mixture of

hippies, hipsters, families, working-class styles, and more outlandish outfits, and of black, white, and Latino people. The crowd was at one point, from my best estimate, about 60% white, 30% black, and 10% Hispanic.

But within this racially diverse street festival, I observed several different types of spatial micro-segregation. The first is the result of a general passive attitude among audience members in a crowd listening to a swing band playing on one of the five stages set up for the event. I sat down on a curb while I ate some food I had just purchased from a food cart, and I noticed that sitting next to me was a heavy-set, balding white man (with his two yelping Chihuahuas), a greying, black middle-aged woman, a second middle-aged black woman dressed in plaid pajama bottoms and a white t-shirt with a hole in it, and a pair of two early-teen-aged black girls. None of us interacted with each other. We sat or stood as individuals or in almost all same-race friendship groups and watched without speaking (see, for example, Figure 6 below). A similar type of micro-segregation occurred as racially homogenous audiences were drawn to different concerts happening at the same time at different spaces along Center Street's 5-block wide festival area. In a small semi-circle around the all-white punk band playing stood a mostly teen and 20-something white-majority audience. A classic rock band made up of mostly older white men with long beards attracted a similar looking crowd. In one instance, I noticed that a stage that featured a hip hop show and an almost all-black audience bobbing their heads was next to a dodge ball game with all-white 20 or 30-something players and an all-white audience cheering on the different teams. These two events were just a few feet apart.

Figure 6: Picture of Scene from 2013 Center Street Daze in Riverwest [identifiable faces are blocked out]

Micro-segregation, with groups of blacks and whites standing or participating in activities in close spatial proximity without interacting, also occurred at Riverwest's "Energy Independence Day" Festival on July 4th, 2013. Organizers of the event, who included local environmental organizations and the Riverwest Neighborhood Association, offered free ice-cream and minty-flavored drinks, and were pushing hard for a local initiative to reduce energy use in the neighborhood and around Milwaukee (led by the environmentalist group, Transition Milwaukee). At the beginning, it seemed everyone was interested in the brass band playing songs (the "opening ceremonies," so to speak)

and of course the free food. The brass band, its players all white and all middle-aged, played patriotic songs. They played on a small stage area with a banner behind it that had a painted American flag with white bicycle renderings superimposed on top. When I arrived, I observed a mixture of black, white, and Latino/a adults and their children forming a long line for the free food being handed out. This high level of technical integration with almost no cross-racial social integration is similar to what I observed sitting on the curb and listening to the swing band at Center Street Daze the previous fall.

Next to the stage where multiple musical acts would perform throughout the festival, children played on the playground swings and climbing structures and in a water spout playground adjacent to the regular playground that featured, among other figures, holes in the ground that spurted water on their delighted faces on this hot summer day. In the chaos that children so often make, it was hard to see if all the kids played together, but the vast majority of kids of different racial parentage appeared to play with each other happily. Lichter's (2013: 368) study of racial inequality among American youth cautions scholars not to infer social integration from children's' cross-racial interactions, though:

> The optimistic inferences we draw from observing the seemingly color-blind associations among our children sometimes ignore ongoing developmental processes. That is, racial identities (and racial attitudes) are not innate but come from social interactions that unfold over time with family members, and with others in schools, neighborhoods, peer groups, and voluntary associations (that are often homogenous racially).

Temporal micro-segregation made a debut here as well in conjunction with the spatial micro-segregation already present. While the beginning of the day showed more racial mixing as people talked in line for refreshments and parents watched their children play on the playground, as the day wore on, groups of white people, who were friend-groups and families, sat closer to the stage and in separate groups to eat around the trees. And the larger black groups, who seemed to mostly be large extended families, stayed farther away, or simply picked different trees to gather around (Figure 7). These families had set up tents, underneath which they sat in their unfolded lawn-chairs next to grills or large silver tin-foil/aluminum trays of pre-cooked food. I wondered whether or not they were there for the event at all or just there to barbecue and use the park. It was Fourth of July, after all. Other parks in the area were almost exclusively inhabited by large groups of black families, sitting in similar tents and folding chairs, and also barbecuing, eating, and talking. While the day had started out with a racial mixture of neighborhood residents and slowly ended up highly racially segregated as the day wore on.

Figure 7: Example of white and black micro-segregation at Riverwest's Energy Independence Day Celebration

Given the loud and crowded atmosphere and the focus on the musical entertainment, the lack of cross-racial interaction, or social interaction at all, was not particularly surprising in these two instances of micro-segregation. Indeed, cross-racial *and* intra-racial interactions among strangers were both somewhat scarce. People attending the festival appeared to have come with mostly racially homogenous groups of friends, their partners, or their families, or had planned to meet up with them at both festivals. Taken together though, these events provide contradictory evidence towards assumptions in the contact and segregation literatures that neighborhood spaces are

conducive to cross-racial social contact. For instance, Alba's (2009) book argues that the “color line” between whites and minorities will be blurred by upward socioeconomic mobility of non-whites in U.S. society and their subsequent social integration (including, contact and interaction) into formerly white-dominated neighborhoods. But what if neighbors, even where they are in such close proximity and even where they are enjoying the same activities, never talk to one another?

Actually, this version of urban integration is more in line with Anderson's (2011) notion of the “cosmopolitan canopy”, where there is "acceptance of the space as belonging to all kinds of people"(p.3) and a “cognitive and cultural basis for trust is established that often leads to the emergence of more civil behavior”(p.xv). Though individuals formed self-segregated groups at these events, there was no feeling of tension or animosity apparent; nor was any “aversion” (Simmel 1903) truly discernible. But what wasn’t present at many events (though not all) was prolonged interaction between neighbors of different racial groups. They simply coexisted separately and segregated on a smaller scale. It is possible that this sort of shallow exposure could still produce positive effects for racial attitudes or even Anderson’s civility; but even then, I suspect this diverse landscape with a noticeable absence of actual contact fails to rise to the hopes of Alba’s (2009) blurred color line. More importantly, it becomes clear that the existence of micro-segregation in racially diverse neighborhood spaces is the rule rather than the exception to it.

Crossing Racial-Spatial Boundaries

This is not to say Riverwest residents never engaged in cross-racial interactions. But where they cross-racial interaction did occur, it seemed mostly temporary and shallow. While I resided in Riverwest, I observed many Riverwest residents crossing into and between spaces that are symbolically linked to one racial group. For example, Riverwest residents routinely walk through doors into different bars and restaurants in which they are the racial minority or walk through part of a street festival that is numerically dominated by another racial group. Sometimes they made small talk with strangers of different racial groups while they were there. Sanders (2002:237) argued that ethnic boundaries are products of the patterns social interaction that "reinforce in-group members' self-identification and outsiders' confirmation of group distinctions." And Lacy (2002) argued that racial "boundary work" in various neighborhood spaces serves to further draw symbolic distinctions between themselves and other groups. Drawing on Brubaker's (2004) work, Trouille (2013:4) argues that "boundary formation is a social, dynamic, and interactional process with varying degrees and forms of closure and boundedness."

In this case, boundaries between racial groups in Riverwest are confirmed and reinforced by boundary crossing practices. Norman described a recent bar crawl in his neighborhood as the participants going to different bars that were associated with different racial groups. Of this famous bar crawl, he boasted, "they'll go to the Hispanic bar, they'll go to the Black bar, they'll go to every bar!" On the one hand, boundary crossing in this type of narrative resembles a sort of ethnic tourism or fetishization of

racial difference in the vein of the aforementioned ‘cultural diversity’. In this particular example, the racial contact can only be fleeting as [the mostly white, as I later observed] drunken patrons literally stumble down the block from racially segregated bar to racially segregated bar. On the other hand, social psychologists have long noted a cognitive tendency towards grouping people together by [socially constructed] racial background. Extending this to the urban context, Suttles (1972) demonstrated that city residents often thought in simplified racial images that magnified the racial boundaries between different city spaces and neighborhoods in his widely-cited book. In any case, this narrative clearly indicates both a lack of meaningful social integration and a reification of the racial-spatial boundaries between the different bars within the neighborhood as a result of the boundary-crossing bar crawl.

My interview with Maya came after the interview with Norman, so I asked her about what she thought about whether or not people went to different bars depending on their racial identification. Maya is a light-skinned Latina woman in her mid-30s who “sometimes identifies as white” and has lived in the neighborhood for five years working as a waitress and a barista. She responded:

> Maya: Yeah definitely. That’s the sense I get that [they are segregated]. And actually where the [majority white] Public House bar is now, there used to be a bar called Salicies and that was much more-so a black bar. And I went there a handful of times, and I mean it was… yeah. It was pretty striking, the difference.
>
> Me: Did you feel unwelcome?

> Maya: No actually I didn't. The bartenders were great, like super welcoming and really friendly. But you can't help but notice it. I didn't go there; but the handful of times that I went, I had a blast.

I argue that this shows a social effect on attitudes about other racial groups, but also a reification of the difference between groups and the difference between racialized spatial domains. A temporary feeling of belonging and welcoming is certainly apparent when in both her and Norman's tales, especially in Maya's when she says that they were "super welcoming and friendly." But different spaces are thought to belong to specific groups in both of these examples. Norman and Maya emphasized crossing racial boundaries while simultaneously tying boundary crossing to the segregation of bars by race. In other words, the racial boundaries between groups are reified symbolically around each group and around each space through the boundary crossing process itself. Previous scholarship on boundary crossing by different groups has found that even if boundary crossing can facilitate resource sharing in some cases, the ties formed as a result are only temporary. For instance in Nast and Blokland's (2013), parents of school children were able to form cross-class ties, but these ties disappeared after the parents secured a particular resource they were after.

The place where such boundary crossing is the most remarkable and salient is a physical road; Holton Street. This boulevard is referred to by all of my respondents as *the* major racial and class dividing line in the neighborhood (or *of* the neighborhood). I confirmed this to be true with census data and my own observations in the neighborhood. The neighborhood just west of Holton Street is a majority black neighborhood with

higher poverty rates and a much greater number of abandoned lots. I frequently walked north and south along Holton in making my neighborhood observations. I almost always noticed a paucity of people on the sidewalks on Holton, despite its numerous, varied store-fronts and institutions, which included a couple of check-cashing places, a computer repair shop, several churches and a mosque, a private catholic school, several corner bars, and a higher end variety shop. The street can resemble an urban no-man's land between the two very different neighborhoods. It is a wider street than most of the others in the neighborhood, with many fast cars going back and forth. The street is riddled with potholes and trash, though that is common for many of the streets in the area. The people-less yards frequently have "Beware of Dog" signs, and barking pitbulls are common. Housel's (2009) study describes highly avoided spaces like this as landscapes of avoidance. In her study, avoidance was driven by fear of crime by elderly white women.

Similar to Housel's study, there are indications that this racial-spatial boundary might also present both criminal and status based threats to Riverwest residents besides the "Beware of Dog" signs (which are disproportionately present on Holton as compared with other streets in the neighborhood). For instance, avoidance of this intersection between the two neighborhoods is also reflected in rental advertisements. Craigslist advertisements for rooms and apartments for rent in the neighborhood commonly state that they are "x many blocks" from Holton, as if there is a consensus among the kinds of potential renters in Riverwest that being close to this dividing line, or the majority-black neighborhood, is an undesirable thing. Maya commented that realtors and property

management representatives used similar language about the apartments she viewed recently in the neighborhood (she was looking for a new apartment with her boyfriend).

In these ways, neighborhood spatial divisions are both caused by and reinforce social distance between individuals from racial groups within the neighborhood and between neighborhoods. This socio-spatial divide between Riverwest and Harambee is confirmed in the narratives of respondents as well. Jayden, a black, male Riverwester and neighborhood business owner in his early 30s describes the dividing line between the two neighborhoods as a separation between two entirely different kinds of "experiences." He argues:

> For the general culture, at least as far as the neighborhood goes, Holton tends to be the dividing line. Also, the difference on each side is the amount of crime and the general population that lives on either side. On the east side of Holton it tends to be generally eclectic, even right along Holton Street. And on the west side of Holton, it's mostly African American and Hispanic.

The racialized nature of the Holton Street boundary is made all the more clear by Maya and Norman's referring to white people that conduct business on the other side of this salient dividing line as "pioneers." For example, right after commenting on the "annoying" idea that neighborhood residents see Holton as such a dividing line, Maya spoke about a store that "popped up there" on Holton recently, run by a white couple. "I'm really impressed that they chose to locate on Holton," she said. Norman stated:

> If we're saying that the definition of who…who self-identifies themselves as a Riverwester, then they could be on the other side of Holton. They would be sort of like pioneers on the other side of Holton, like I might have been when I first moved here [from the suburbs of Milwaukee].

Though it's unclear in this narrative piece whether or not he is referring to pioneers as white, middle class people, one might draw that conclusion from the fact that he's pointing to similarities between pioneers and himself crossing from a diverse to a majority-black neighborhood. The conceptualization of white Riverwesters who choose to locate on the west side of Holton street or even on Holton Street itself as pioneers aligns this boundary crossing with a dangerous and brave expedition. This interpretation resonates with Douglas's (2012:3579) review of some of the gentrification literature for critically deconstructing the "image of gentrifier as 'pioneer'—bravely settling, investing in and fairly intentionally 'revitalizing' and 'taming' an inner-city 'frontier', usually in the context of wider pro-development conditions". Evidently, most Riverwesters, black and white, imbue Holton Street with emotions of fear and reverence such that social stigma and awe are attached to people that cross it.

Ironically, but not surprisingly, many residents and neighborhood activists would like to weaken the Holton Street boundary between the two racially and economically disparate neighborhoods. Activists have explicitly acknowledged the need to cross the boundary of Holton Street and bring together the racially and economically differentiated communities of Riverwest and Harambee. At the aforementioned Energy Independence Day July 4th event, the opening speakers directly addressed the racial divide (mentioning

Holton in particular), demarcated by Holton Street. A white preacher from a mostly-black church (All People's Church) urged us all to get to know people at this event from the other side of Holton, to "break down that boundary." Indeed, the idea of "getting to know your neighbors" was present at many neighborhood events, and often meant going outside of the neighborhood to Harambee. These two neighborhoods came to represent social distance between disadvantage blacks and more advantaged non-blacks that Riverwesters, at least in theory, sought to traverse.

I found a perfect example of how crossing the Holton boundary contributes to the social distance between blacks and whites in the neighborhood in the now famous "Riverwest 24"; an annual 24-hour bike rice that takes place in the neighborhood, is. The R24, as many residents came to call it, involved massive volunteer participation from many participants to make the street closures, lap-counting, entertainment, break stations, and food stands happen. This was the sixth year of the race, which initially started as an effort to challenge the prevalent street crime at night in the neighborhood. It is also, according the website, meant to encourage bicycling in the city. According to the website (http://www.riverwest24.com/about): "The RW24 was born through community block watches throughout Riverwest. It is a way for our neighborhood to welcome new people, strengthen relationships within the community (and beyond), and show everyone why Riverwest is amazing". Volunteering was partially incentivized by priority tickets to the following year's R24 race, which had become all the more vital for participant hopefuls as tickets this year and the previous year had sold out within a little over an hour.

The location for volunteer cooks was a small kitchen in the basement of All People's Church – a mostly-black church in the Harambee neighborhood just west of Riverwest. As I parked my bike to walk into the church to help make the all-vegetarian meal of lasagna day previous to the race, a group of all-black children and teens were playing in the parking lot across the street doing organized activities in summer camp program. I locked up my bike to a bike rack near the curb the same time a slim white man, in a blue t-shirt, probably in his 30s, who had just locked his bike up asked me if I was there to volunteer for the Riverwest 24. "Yes!" I said, thinking it must've been obvious because we were the only two white people around. When I walked in the door, I walked down the long corridor, adorned with colorful murals and down the stairs to the basement. The hot, stuffy kitchen full of mostly white hipsters in their 30s. From my fieldnotes:

> A woman at the grill with purple hair, piercings, and red and white striped knee high socks sautéed crumbled tempeh. Tammi, a middle aged white woman with dyed red-maroon hair, smiled at me and directed me to find a clean washcloth and wipe off the sides/edges of the large silver bins holding lasagna. I introduced myself to a couple of the men working. One tall, lanky, 30-something, white man dressed as a hipster, told me he lived in the neighborhood, but was thinking of applying to graduate school in Geography somewhere next year. Danny, another tall white man, less stylish, with crooked yellow teeth, told me he missed the chance to sign up for the Riverwest 24 even though he had started waiting in line in the early

> morning for tickets. Another white man, short, with a buzz cut and a black t-shirt that read, "End the War NOW" approached me to introduce himself. Finally, another hipster-looking white man who I guessed to be in his thirties with his brunette beard braded (to keep out of the food?), helped with the tempeh. I noticed he had "RW24" tattooed on his calf. I asked him if he was riding, and he replied that it would be his 6th time (out of 6 races ever had). The whole time, there was only one person of color in the kitchen; a younger black boy wearing a plain white t-shirt and cut-off denim shorts. No one talked to him or introduced us, so I introduced myself to him. But his role there was not clear, and no one else seemed to interact with him during the three hours I was there. When I walked out, the kids were out playing across the street again.

The juxtapositions in this passage are telling. We were making the dinner for the mostly-white bike race, with mostly-white volunteers in the basement of a black church in the black neighborhood adjacent to Riverwest. True, the pastor was a white man, who often spoke passionately and publicly for the crossing of the Holton Street boundary between the two segregated neighborhoods. But if boundary crossing was the answer to forging greater connection between all-black, much more impoverished Harambee and diverse middle-class Riverwest, this certainly wasn't a successful example of a pertinent accomplishment. Racial integration is harder to achieve than a temporary journey across racial-spatial lines. On the one hand, it seems like a necessary precondition to enabling the cross-racial contact that would blur those boundaries both physically and socially. But

in practice, more of a sustained effort to actually engage socially with people from different racial groups may also be required in order to soften social and spatial divisions.

CONCLUSION

As demonstrated in my ethnographic and interview data, racial diversity, even on the scale of an event or a discrete social space, doesn't necessarily lead to connections between people across racial groups. Diverse neighborhood residents encounter people of different races living in their neighborhood, but never directly interact with them because of segregation that occurs on smaller scales both spatially and temporally. By implication, the contact hypothesis literature that predominantly operationalizes contact through probabilities of exposure, may be assuming face-to-face contact that is not even present in diverse spaces because of this micro-segregation.

And publicly observable cross-racial contact, when it did occur, was shallow and sometimes reified racial and spatial boundaries in the neighborhood. My interview and ethnographic data show that social and physical boundary crossing across racial-spatial lines, especially by whites into spaces coded by them as non-white, actually reinforces separation and perceived difference between racial groups when that boundary crossing is temporary and shallow. This finding underlines a more complex picture of the social meaning making around racial integration that accounts for the persistent role of racial inequality in reifying social distance by race. Although previous research has conceptualized larger scale neighborhood diversity as the metric for racial residential

integration, this study reveals that micro-segregation within neighborhood spaces continues to hamper the achievement of diversity that would allow for the accomplishment of racial integration in a more meaningful and consequential way.

These findings also have implications for the debate around diversity and social capital that has provided a mixed record about the effects of racial diversity on various measures of social cohesion and social ties (Fieldhouse and Cutts 2010; Hero 2003; Laurence 2013; Nast and Blokland 2013; Phan, Blumer, and Demaiter 2009; Portes and Vickstrom 2011; Putnam 2007). One of the most famous and controversial of this lineage of studies is Robert Putnam's 2007 paper, in which he argues that an association exists between increasing immigration from outside of the U.S. and social isolation. In this piece, he "raises the alarm" about the negative social effects of neighborhood diversification (Portes and Vickstrom 2011:472). A strand of literature proceeding from this claim shows a trend toward more socially isolated neighbors and/or decreased levels of social trust as their communities become more racially and ethnically diverse (Costa and Kahn 2003; Stolle, Soroka, and Johnston 2008). However, Portes and Vickstrom's (2011) review highlights a number of studies (Fieldhouse and Cutts 2010; Sturgis and Smith 2010) that show that racial and ethnic diversity has little to no independent effect on social capital. The effects of neighborhood poverty level and economic inequality both exert significantly greater influence on these outcomes than does diversity alone.

These findings suggest trajectories for future research on the relationship among racialized spatial boundaries in reproducing racial-social distance in the residential context. Researchers should examine how stable racially diverse neighborhoods foster

cross-racial ties in more racially integrated metropolitan areas (e.g. Atlanta). In these settings, less racial segregation at the metropolitan level could possibly impact the level of social integration in the neighborhood. Future work could also examine neighborhoods where socio-economic status is roughly similar across racial groups in a neighborhood. As the individual focused contact hypothesis, do neighborhood level cross-racial social ties also flourish when socio-economic status is held constant? Would the ethnic tourism effect disappear in these circumstances where the power differential between whites and non-whites is lessened? A final trajectory in future research could interrogate the economic outcomes of minorities in stable diverse communities. Given that cross-racial social networks have been found to play a significant role in access to resources and power for individuals of racial and ethnic minority groups, this study's findings implies that the “neighborhood effect” of diversity on economic attainment outcomes may be minimal. Is this the case in neighborhoods with more social integration, but similar levels of technical integration? By taking on these lines of future inquiry, Sociologists can shed further light on the conditions necessary to foster cross-racial social ties in everyday life.

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PAPER 2: DIVERSITY IN BLACK AND WHITE: DIVERGENT NARRATIVES OF RACIAL RESIDENTIAL INTEGRATION

ABSTRACT

Previous studies have found that whites have become increasingly tolerant of minority neighbors, even if they still prefer a majority-white neighborhood, while blacks have always preferred diverse neighborhoods. But, are the motivations for wanting neighborhood diversity the same? This study combines a year of ethnographic fieldwork with in-depth interviews with 30 people in a racially diverse neighborhood in Milwaukee, WI to examine this question. The study found that white and black residents reasons' for valuing diversity differed by race in ways that were structured by experiences of inequality in the Milwaukee metropolitan area as a whole. White residents valued diversity as a symbolic good that bolstered their identities as progressive and cosmopolitan. By contrast, black neighbors appreciated neighborhood diversity because it was one of the few places in the city that afforded them everyday tolerance and decency. The findings suggest that the broader context of structural racial inequality that creates disparate embodied experiences of urban places contributes to racial differences in reasons for liking integration.

INTRODUCTION

Neighborhoods in the United States have become more racially and ethnically diverse in the last couple of decades. In particular, there was a large reduction in highly-segregated white neighborhoods, which experienced increases in non-white residents (Holloway, Wright, and Ellis 2012). Highly diverse neighborhoods also became much more common than before. Previous literature has outlined barriers to maintaining neighborhood diversity (Bruch and Mare 2006; Bruch et al. 2015) and also the persistence in white's preferences for other white neighbors (Bruch and Mare 2013, Krysan et al. 2009, Emerson et al. 2001, Bobo and Zubrinsky 1996). Most recently, Schuman and Bobo (2015) found that whites continue to oppose government-led interventions that would increase open housing for black Americans, even if they believe in tolerance of diversity. But, what about within racially diverse neighborhoods where diversity is reportedly of great value?

Positive attitudes towards racial residential diversity in the U.S. have increased over the past couple of decades (Lichter 2013). Yet, several scholars have pointed out probable over-estimation of positive attitudes towards blacks on surveys due to social desirability bias (Krumpal 2013) and to an apparent disconnect between these attitudes and actual social practices or policies of inclusion in neighborhoods (Desmond and Emirbayer 2009). In this paper, I draw on interviews with 30 black, white, and Latinos/as in a racially diverse Riverwest neighborhood in Milwaukee, WI and a year of ethnographic fieldwork to look at why white and black Riverwest residents value diversity.

Among the scant amount of research done with people who chose to live in diverse communities, scholars do find evidence that residents value ethno-racial diversity (Bell and Hartmann 2007; Jansen 2012; Rich 2011). Knowing that Riverwest was diverse and had a reputation for being outward proponents of racial diversity, I set out to investigate how residents' made sense of that neighborhood diversity. Rather than looking at *whether or not* Riverwesters valued diversity, I sampled from racially diverse Riverwesters who already proclaimed to value diversity of their neighborhood. Instead, I was interested in why and how they valued their neighborhood's diversity and even what their neighborhood's diversity meant for their motivations for moving to the neighborhood or staying there. I found that the reasons for valuing diversity differ by racial group membership. White residents valued diversity as a symbolic good that reaffirmed their own progressive and/or hip identities, while black respondents appreciated neighborhood diversity for practical social and physical safety concerns.

Interestingly, these findings are very similar to those of Perkiss' (2012:411) study of Philadelphia's racially diverse West Mount Airy neighborhood during the 1950s. The history of racial integration in these two neighborhoods is incredibly similar. West Mount Airy was a unique neighborhood in Philadelphia, like Riverwest in Milwaukee, because it bucked a trend of white flight that was so strong at that time that integration was commonly referred to as "the period the first black family moved onto a block, and the last white family moving out." Also much like the Riverwest neighborhood, West Mount Airy was formed by black middle class families who capitalized on their newfound economic advances by moving out of the ghetto and by white residents who were part of

a pro-integration neighborhood movement (Perkiss 2012; Tolan 2003). Blacks "saw neighborhoods like West Mount Airy as an opportunity to leave the dilapidated conditions of the inner-city ghettoes" (Perkiss 2012:417). In the Riverwest case, black families began to move in slightly later but for similar reasons. In particular, black families began settling in Riverwest in the early 1960's, partly as a result of the construction of I-43 right through the nearby African American neighborhoods (Tolan 2003). Like in Philadelphia, these black migrants were also mostly middle class (Tolan 2003). There were even similarities in the two neighborhoods' integration movements. Both were driven by a strong desire to maintain some of the middle-class character of the neighborhoods, both were originally led by religious coalitions of multiple Christian churches, and later by more secular activist movements , and both took on the causes of fair housing, equal and quality education (Perkiss 2012; Tolan 2003). To be sure, both movements also met with a fair amount of opposition from white residents that eventually became less vocal and less powerful over time (Perkiss 2012; Tolan 2003).

The similarity of the neighborhood histories and subsequent findings between Perkiss' (2012) study and this one lends credibility to both study's findings and the implications that the broader context of structural inequality contributes to racial differences in seeking integration. Because the stakes of racial integration are different for whites and blacks, their reasons for living in diverse neighborhoods are also. In the sections that follow, I explore how neighborhood diversity motivates white and black Riverwesters for different reasons that are shaped by structural inequality racialized residents experience in their everyday lives.

METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS: DIVERSE NEIGHBORS IN A SEGREGATED CITY

In order to understand how people understand and experience racially diverse neighborhood spaces, I chose a qualitative approach that could capture these processes at the micro-level. This study draws on a combination of in-depth interviews with 30 neighborhood residents and people that worked or owned businesses in the neighborhood and a year of ethnographic observations at various neighborhood social places and events, including bars, crime-watch meetings, street festivals, and other organizational meetings. The in-depth interviews were particularly insightful about the question guiding this paper: how and why do people come to live in a racially diverse neighborhood? As it turned out, residents' narratives differed by race in ways that revealed the structural and social inequality underlying their diverse neighborhood choice.

I made initial interview contacts by visiting a community center, a bookstore, a grocery co-op, and other neighborhood organizations and businesses. I then expanded the sample by using snowball sampling to recruit additional interviewees. The interviewee sample approximately mirrors the racial composition of the neighborhood (~70% white, ~15% black), though it is not perfectly representative (nor is it meant to be) of the neighborhood population. My formal interview respondent sample is most similar to what is known as a "key informant sample," which draws on subjects because of their expertise (Marshall 1996). In this case, living or working in the neighborhood and going

out to public places in the neighborhood on a semi-regular basis constitute expertise on the research question at hand. I utilized my initial twenty interviewees' understandings of the most diverse public places and events in the neighborhood in order to comprise this ethnographic place sample. Formal interviews were semi-structured and took between one and four hours with each respondent. Importantly, my interview protocol was written so that I did not bring up the issue of racial integration or diversity until the middle of the interview. This way, I could ask generally about respondents' reasons for moving to the neighborhood and activities and people they knew from the neighborhood without cueing race in a way that would trigger social desirability bias among respondents who wished to appear to have more racially diverse lives (Krumpal 2013).

I also did informal ethnographic interviews with more than 50 people during my year-long stay in the neighborhood and visits to neighborhood meetings, festivals and other events, police district meetings, and at numerous neighborhood bars. These interviews were helpful to my study because they allowed me to best contextualize a respondent's interpretation of their immediate surroundings and understand their relevant meaning-making related to place (Emerson, Fretz, and Shaw 1995). To analyze field note data and interview transcripts, I first employed inductive open-coding techniques to allow for the emergence of initial codes from the data, and then narrowed my codes to a substantial list and used those to code later data as well as to refine some of my interview questions. The interview excerpts highlighted here are some of the ones I deemed to be the most representative of the perspectives from the overall sample of 30 interviewees.

Though previous neighborhood studies have examined racial dynamics and perceptions of racial difference, previous research on questions surrounding neighborhood diversity has largely ignored motivations that residents living in diverse neighborhoods have for living there. Of particular relevance to the study at hand, neighborhood spaces play important roles in connecting or alienating individuals from a racial identity (Schein 2006, Thompson Ford 1994). For example, black identity is often said to be dependent on connections to black spaces (Lacy 2007). Bourdieu also argued that one's position in the social hierarchy "is expressed in the site of physical space" (Bourdieu 2000: 124). And while a plethora of research has examined how racial inequality articulates in segregated space, no work to my knowledge has examined how that inequality is signified in diverse space.

This study focuses on the people residing and working in the neighborhood of Riverwest in Milwaukee, WI. I selected Riverwest as my fieldsite because of its statistical diversity, the longevity of its racial diversity (since the 1970s), and its public image within the city of Milwaukee for being racially tolerant and diverse. Most diverse neighborhoods are less persistent over time than other types of neighborhood racial configurations (Holloway et al. 2012), frequently giving away to gentrification or neighborhood decay. But, Riverwest has been diverse for decades (Tolan 2003). Besides one other neighborhood in Milwaukee (the Sherman Park neighborhood), Riverwest is exceptional for its diversity (and for its love for it) in a city so deeply defined by its extreme racial segregation. In this way, Riverwest is prominent for being diverse just as much as it is prominent because it isn't completely dominated by a single racial group

like the rest of the city, even if it is ~62% white (see Table 1 Below). This fits with Galster's (1998) definition of neighborhood "mixture" between blacks and whites, that holds if neither group makes up more than 75% of the population. Still, because blacks make up slightly less than 20% of the Riverwest population, the neighborhood slightly misses the mark of being 'Black–White integrated' according to Quinn and Pawasarat (2003). By their measure, the population must be at least 20% Black and 20% White to be considered integrated for blacks and whites. However, Riverwest is also not considered segregated by their measure because it is neither more than 80% black nor 80% white. And, if we compare the diversity of the Riverwest neighborhood with the diversity of nearby neighborhoods in Milwaukee (as Maly 2000 argues for), we see that the neighborhoods surrounding Riverwest are much more segregated. The neighborhood immediately to the west of Riverwest (Harambee) is 7% white and 81% black and a neighborhood immediately east of Riverwest (Riverside Park) is 93% white and only 2% black. Fortunately for this analysis, five Milwaukee County census tracts align within the socially accepted borders of the neighborhood, so I was able to accurately represent the neighborhood in my calculations.

Ethno-Racial Group Category	Census Tract 71, Milwaukee County, Wisconsin		Census Tract 72, Milwaukee County, Wisconsin		Census Tract 79, Milwaukee County, Wisconsin		Census Tract 80, Milwaukee County, Wisconsin		Census Tract 107, Milwaukee County, Wisconsin		TOTALS for Riverwest Neighborhood	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Non-Hispanic White Alone	1,324	69.00%	1,783	63.10%	1,406	82.00%	1,151	50.30%	1,178	51.20%	6842	61.90%
Non-Hispanic Black or African American Alone	368	19.20%	490	17.30%	128	7.50%	382	16.70%	521	22.60%	1889	17.10%
Hispanic or Latino	151	7.90%	450	15.90%	72	4.20%	677	29.60%	436	19.00%	1786	16.20%
Other Ethno-Racial Groups Combined	75	3.90%	104	3.70%	109	6.40%	77	3.40%	166	7.30%	531	4.80%

Table 1: Ethno-Racial Diversity by Riverwest Neighborhood Census Tracts from ACS 2010 5-Year Estimates

Riverwest neighbors also express commitment to diversity. Printed signs in residents' windows that were created as part of an anti-racist protest years before read "Riverwest: Diversity is Our Strength." Diversity is part of the brand of the neighborhood – a frequent topic of discussion in neighborhood association meetings and community events. In these ways, this field site was selected in order to set-up the best possibilities for capturing the social climate in diverse neighborhood spaces. The neighborhood is also a good case to study neighbor-to-neighbor contact because of its high level of civic engagement. The neighborhood has an active neighborhood association, widely advertised, and commonly held neighborhood events; a plethora of neighborhood block watches; its own monthly community newspaper; numerous activist, and non-profit groups with their own rented spaces in the neighborhood; a weekly farmers market; and growing local-only business corridors. In Riverwest, known in the region for its ethno-racial diversity, its progressive politics, its aging hippies, and its younger artists, I thought I might find social integration as well.

Economic diversity is also present in the neighborhood (see Table 2 and Figure 1 below), even though most Riverwester households make what many would consider to be working class to middle class household incomes. The overall median household income for Riverwest is $37,098.

Household Income (In 2010 Inflation Adjusted Dollars)	Households in Riverwest Census Tracts	
	Count	%
Less than $10,000	584	11.10%
$10,000 to $14,999	376	7.20%
$15,000 to $19,999	375	7.20%
$20,000 to $24,999	473	9.00%
$25,000 to $29,999	215	4.10%
$30,000 to $34,999	418	8.00%
$35,000 to $39,999	400	7.60%
$40,000 to $44,999	239	4.60%
$45,000 to $49,999	172	3.30%
$50,000 to $59,999	448	8.50%
$60,000 to $74,999	650	12.40%
$75,000 to $99,999	402	7.70%
$100,000 to $124,999	189	3.60%
$125,000 to $149,999	154	2.90%
$150,000 to $199,999	102	1.90%
$200,000 or More	49	0.90%

Table 2: Household Income in Riverwest from ACS 2010 5-Year Estimates

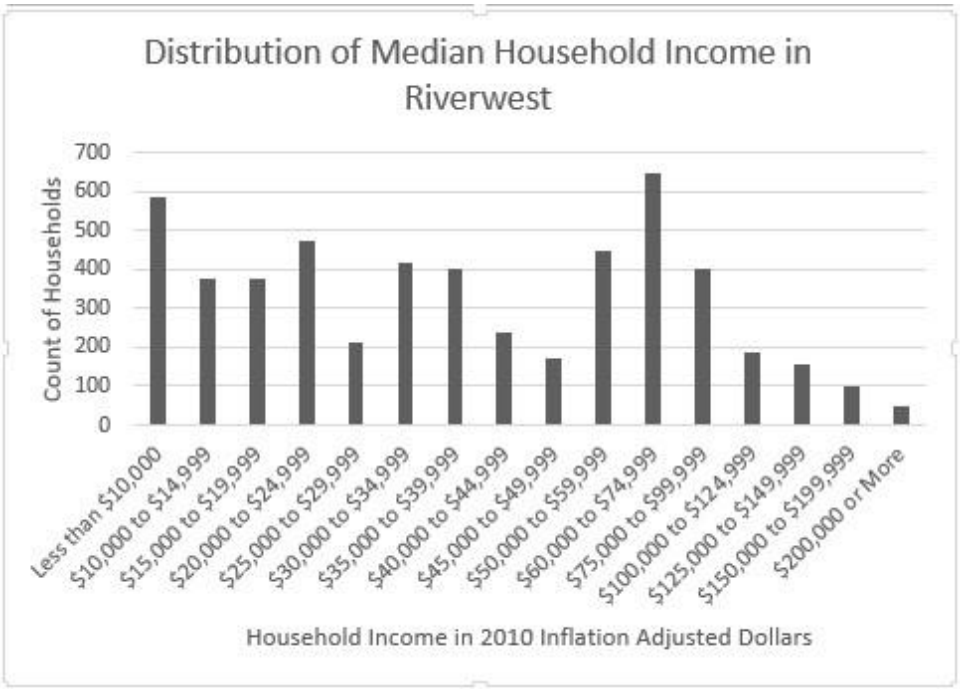

Figure 8: Distribution Chart of Household Income in Riverwest from ACS2010 5-Year Estimate

Racial inequality in income is present in the Riverwest neighborhood, however. Overall, Riverwest whites have make almost double the household median income of blacks in the neighborhood. The median household income for whites in Riverwest in 2010 was $40,699, while the median household income for blacks in Riverwest in 2010 was only $21,264. Black Riverwesters are also overrepresented among those living in poverty in Riverwest. According to ACS 5-Year Estimates for 2010, whereas 21.2% of white households' income was below the poverty line in 2010, 42.5% of black households' income was below the poverty line at that time.

Perhaps not surprisingly then, cross-racial tensions co-exist with this melting pot image of the neighborhood. Property crime, muggings, and a general sense of fear related to personal safety were expressed by numerous respondents of every racial group (but

especially among white respondents in this study). While both black and white respondents argued that the regional news media gave Riverwest a hyperbolic black-on-white crime image by over-representing stories about these crimes, they also expressed concerns about crime coming from the majority-black neighborhood to the west, Harambee (Spitz 2015b, Tolan 2003).The street separating Harambee and Riverwest, called Holton Street, seemed like almost a no-man's land for many of the residents. One of my black neighbors, a middle-aged black woman living with her elderly mother and 6-year old son in housing subsidized by the government, once warned me not to walk on Holton Street at all, even during the day, for "safety's sake."

Milwaukee's local government often exacerbated racial inequality and racial tensions. For example, Zimmerman (2008) describes instances where representatives of the city threatened majority-black and racially diverse neighborhoods with massive police crackdowns and arrested waves of black inner-city youth for "cruising" by confiscating their cars, all in the name of preserving the invested developers who were revitalizing areas adjacent to Riverwest. A more well-known example of racial tensions in Riverwest is the case of Derek Williams. Williams, a black man who had just allegedly committed an armed robbery in Riverwest, was shortly thereafter apprehended by police, and died in the back of the police car. Some of the details, most importantly about the extent of physical force applied by officers, are still in dispute. But the result was that after repeatedly claiming he couldn't breathe and asking for medical help (as shown on video), Williams stopped breathing and was not able to be revived with police officers' later CPR efforts. The case ignited nation-wide claims of racism, police brutality, and racial

profiling. Although this case wasn't nationally related to the diverse Riverwest community, within Milwaukee, Riverwest's slogan that "Diversity is Our Strength" came into question.

Equally important to this paper's analysis of why people in Riverwest value diversity, this study explicates how the larger racially segregated and deeply unequal metropolitan context influences racial integration in Riverwest on the micro-level. Milwaukee was included in the top 5 hyper-segregated metro areas in the U.S. in 1990 and 2000 and is considered the second-most segregated city for blacks and whites in the United States according to analysis done on the Census 2010 with the Dissimilarity Index (Logan and Stults 2011). Extreme inequality within the city falls along racially segregated lines. For instance, the average annual income for families with dependents in the poorest zip code (a majority-black area) in the city was just over $20,000, while in richest zip code was a suburban majority-white neighborhood with an average family income of just over $250,000 (Quinn and Pawasarat 2014). As another example, over 40% of black men in Milwaukee between the ages of 25 and 54 are unemployed, while a little over 10% of white men are unemployed in the city (Levine 2013). In this landscape racial and economic inequality, racially diverse neighbors come to live side-by-side for very different reasons and on uneven footing.

In the remainder of the paper, I draw upon a qualitative analysis of place-making narratives in my formal and ethnographic interviews to elucidate the ways that Riverwest residents value and understand the ethno-racial diversity of their neighborhood. Because the two most numerous racial groups in the neighborhood (and in my sample) are black

and white, I narrow in on these residents' narratives to better understand the different roots for valuing the ethno-racial diversity of their neighborhood.

THE VALUE OF RACIAL DIVERSITY

Both white people and black people who live and work in the Riverwest neighborhood value the diversity of the neighborhood in one way or another. This in itself is a significant finding because the literature shows most whites' preferences for same-race neighbors still persist across the country (Krysan and Bader 2007; Lewis, Emerson, and Klineberg 2014) and that whites' level of neighborhood satisfaction is negatively correlated with the proportion of minorities present in the neighborhood (Lewis et al. 2014; Swaroop and Krysan 2011). Blacks' desire to live in a diverse neighborhood is slightly less surprising. Recent research showed that blacks' and Latinos/as' neighborhood selection depends on a balance of the socioeconomic status of the neighborhood and its racial mix (Swaroop and Krysan 2011), and that neighborhood racial composition alone has little effect on blacks' and Latinos' place preferences (Lewis et al. 2014).

What's most compelling about whites' and blacks' narratives about diversity is that the racial mix symbolizes very different opportunities for individuals from each group. Whites frame their own reasons for valuing racial diversity as symbolic of the accomplishment of their most desired values and lifestyle. This framing is aligned with the more privileged positionality from which they make neighborhood choices in the segregated urban context. By contrast, black respondents framed their choice in more practical terms that reflected much more limitation and constraint. To the largely middle-

and working-class blacks residing in Riverwest, the neighborhood was one of the only places to live in the immediate area that offered any distance from concentrated poverty and its associated social problems while also being not-so "white" that they would stick out or be made to feel unwelcome. In the sections that follow, I explore how structural inequality is reflected in residents' racialized, embodied experiences of place, and how those different experiences therefore influence the divergent motivations for seeking diversity among blacks and whites in the Riverwest neighborhood.

Whites Seek to Fulfill Progressive Values of Racial Tolerance

The majority of white residents that I spoke with listed racial and ethnic diversity as one of the main reasons they chose to move to or stay in the Riverwest neighborhood. The affordable rents or housing prices, the convenience of neighborhood shopping, eateries, and nightlife options, and the artistic and progressive culture of the neighborhood ranked similarly high among whites' reasons for moving there. Many of the white respondents I spoke with - residents, workers, and business owners - took advantage of these latter benefits of the neighborhood on a regular basis. They reported visiting the neighborhood's numerous cafes and restaurants and attending many neighborhood events. A sizable minority of my white respondents were also involved in neighborhood activism in one way or another. Activist participation ranged from attending neighborhood association meetings to being involved in anti-war or anti-police brutality activism. This resonates with how Tolan (2003) has characterized the spirit of the neighborhood as a whole – activist oriented and pro-diversity.

Given such a progressively inclined white population that sought a multicultural lifestyle, it was somewhat surprising that some white respondents' narratives treated racial diversity as an almost purely aesthetic choice. In these white residents' minds, living next to People of Color was a lifestyle choice that fit with being cosmopolitan and even just cool. It's a rejection of the "boring suburbs" in favor of the "grit" of the "real city" said one of my 60 year-old, white male respondents who has lived in Riverwest since the early 70s. In some ways then, these narratives could deny racial and ethnic minorities in the neighborhood as objects of interest in a way that reinforces "othering," differentiating between one's [in this case] racial and ethnic group and other ones in order to define him/herself. Othering as a process of affirming identity comes out of and also (re)produces power differentials because it is tied to material or symbolic gains or losses. In the case of white Riverwesters, living in Riverwest provides the symbolic gain of identification as hip and worldly that requires no social interaction with neighbors who are racial minorities.

Consider the narrative of the following 26 year-old white woman, named Kelsey[4], living with her also-white fiancé in the neighborhood after moving from the almost all-white East Side neighborhood a little more than a year previous to our interview. They explained how they chose Riverwest as their new home:

> Kelsey: I kind of like the mix of people that live there. That it's…it's kind of what we were looking for. A little bit more of the family-ish neighborhood rather than the apartments on apartments on apartments of

[4] Names of all respondents have been changed throughout the manuscript to protect anonymity.

> the East side. I think that Riverwest has more of like a hipster-type feel to it. I think the East side is more…young professional type. I think that people here tend to be a little bit more artistic. A larger mix of people than the neighborhood I used to live in.
>
> Interviewer: What do you mean – like, what kind of mix?
>
> Kelsey: Um, with age wise, interest wise, and race. I think that you saw a lot of younger white people on the East side that had a job in a high-rise building where they probably make pretty good money. I don't think that's necessarily everybody that lives in Riverwest. I think it's probably more diverse in terms of what people do, how much money they make, their background. And we liked that.

Kelsey describes the neighborhood's racial and economic diversity using many aesthetic terms about the types of housing, the "hipster" and "artistic" "feel" of Riverwest, and the "mix" of people. People seem just as much an aspect of the aesthetic landscape of the neighborhood as they are actual humanized subjects in her account. By living in a diverse neighborhood, a white person can accrue symbolic benefits. Branding oneself as diverse as a way to gain symbolic capital resonates with the whole City of Milwaukee's image management strategies aimed towards growth. According to Zimmerman (2008), the city began marketing itself as diverse in the early 2000's in order to attract more young professionals in the creative and technological industries.

On the other hand, this study also found several modes of whites' understanding of the diversity of the community that are intended to disrupt the segregated landscape of

the city (Tolan 2003). Indeed, to some white respondents, being a Riverwester was an opportunity to make a political statement against racism. This account resonates with Berrey's (2005) study of one white-dominated activist group, where she found that whites "politicize their personal identification with a geographic place and their preference for living around people of other racial, ethnic, and class backgrounds" as a means to express anti-racism and political progressivism (2005: 160). This point is further elucidated by some of my white respondents who criticized racism by other whites and organizations, acknowledged white privilege and racial inequality in the neighborhood and in Milwaukee as a whole, and participated in anti-racist activism. In fact, white Riverwesters have been a big part of fights against threats to the racial diversity of the neighborhood, for example. In this way, whites in the neighborhood fit into Nyden, Maly, and Lockhart's (1997:512) conceptualization of a "self-consciously" diverse community that has "developed an array of community organizations, social networks, and institutional accommodations to sustain [its] diversity." Among the white residents that I spoke to, almost all of them mentioned the overwhelming community response to an incident a few years earlier when Nazi groups distributed literature in the neighborhood and sprayed racist graffiti around the neighborhood. People from the neighborhood across racial lines got together and marched down the main streets of the neighborhood in protest and made those "Riverwest: Diversity is Our Strength" signs that still hang in people's windows today.

In another example, longer-term residents have also been engaged in a fight against the increasing amount of mostly-white college students moving into the

neighborhood in recent years due to the expansion of the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee campus, according to several of my interviewees. Though interviewees did not identify the college students as white (even though most of them are), they were implicitly coded as white through their geographical identification as invaders coming from the majority-white and higher-income East side of Milwaukee that served as a proxy for race. Neighborhood groups, led mostly by whites, organized to reject permits to build dorms in the neighborhood and made more concerted efforts to call the police on drunken, loud college parties occurring in the neighborhood.

Still, even where whites are politically involved in efforts to maintain or increase the racial or ethnic diversity of the neighborhood, the racial inequality between whites and blacks is clearly present. Not only that, I observed evidence that white leadership in these organizations can deepen racial inequality in positions of power in the neighborhood. Many of the activist organizations in the Riverwest neighborhood are numerically dominated by whites, including anti-racist, progressive political organizations and also the Riverwest Neighborhood Association (RNA) that runs many of the largest neighborhood-wide events. Despite the racially lopsided leadership in community organizations like the RNA, living in Riverwest allowed them to claim the ability to speak for the whole neighborhood as a result of their diverse identities. At the same time, it can allow these tolerant-affirmed white activists to actually reify their privilege. For example, a long-term resident. a 48 year-old white woman on the RNA board, responded to my question about RNA meeting attendance like this: “We don’t understand why [black people] don’t come to *our* meetings. It’s their neighborhood too,

and *we* do stuff meant to appeal to all cultures" (emphasis added). Other white RNA members also made comments that expressed both bafflement and even sometimes anger over black non-involvement in community organizing efforts that mostly whites headed-up. I suspect that they felt comfortable making these complaints in front of me both because I was white and because they assumed that their place-based identity had replaced any potential for having an oppressive white racial identity. Indeed, a complete rejection of a negatively-powerful white identity has been shown among many white people who live in diverse neighborhoods (Wu, Hou, and Schimmele 2011).

Over and above achieving integration in a social sense then, white respondents seemed to emphasize Riverwest's ethno-racial diversity as central to constructing their own identities as symbolically hip, cosmopolitan, and/or progressive. Though many of the white Riverwesters I spoke with had a passionate commitment to anti-racism in a political sense, even their efforts to that end were sometimes both based on and reproduced racial privilege. Tissot (2011:281) asserts that white upper middle class newcomers to racially and income-diverse inner-city neighborhoods profess to love the diversity while simultaneously reinforcing their difference and distance from their most marginalized neighbors. She summarizes, "Living in a diverse but desirable area results in a rhetoric that expresses both openness to others and the desire for exclusive spaces. It also results in concrete practices that noticeably embody their values in the neighborhood." This dynamic is especially apparent in contrast to how and why black respondents living in Riverwest, as we shall see, valued the same diversity for completely different reasons that had much less to do with accruing symbolic capital towards their

identities and much more to do with the constraints they faced by increased surveillance in white neighborhoods and decreased safety and lower quality living conditions in black neighborhoods.

Blacks Seek [Contextual] Everyday Tolerance

Non-white respondents, particularly the mostly middle- and working-class black residents that I interviewed from the neighborhood, interpret racial diversity as a central contributor to Riverwest as a kind of "safe space." For these residents, Riverwest's safety lies in both its protection from rampant crime that is present in areas of concentrated poverty in the city and also in the social sense of not "sticking out" on the streets as being "out of place" as they would in an all-white area. The racially embodied experience of the highly segregated and highly unequal landscape of the Milwaukee metropolitan area was a consistant point of contrast in most of my black respondent's narratives to the Riverwest neighborhood (and in one case I will highlight, in comparison to Madison, Wisconsin). Similar to white respondents, social integration with whites is not related to blacks' reasons for moving to the neighborhood. Rather, social tolerance and physical safety lies at the heart of their decisions.

A few good examples of how the experience of structural inequality and racial segregation influenced a desire for a racially diverse neighborhood is provided by Sasha, a mid-20's aged young black woman and the girlfriend of one of a young white male respondent I had previously interviewed[5]. Sasha met me at a coffee shop that she said she felt comfortable at because it was diverse. In addition to mentioning several times in her

[5] Though I did not focus my study on interracial relationships, I did come to notice that there were many visible interracial relationships in the neighborhood.

interview that she wouldn't feel physically safe walking in the almost all-black Harambee neighborhood immediately west of Riverwest, even though she "wouldn't stick out as a young black girl," she spoke at length about how Riverwest provided her with protection from discrimination she has faced in all-white areas. Sasha was a couple years out of being an undergraduate student at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. As a majority white campus with only two percent of its undergraduates identified as black (Wisconsin-Madison 2014), Sasha said that she felt she had always stood out at UW in ways that made her feel unaccepted by her peers. She experienced outright racism on Madison's campus as well. In one instance, a white male undergraduate (she thought) walking with his white friends down a long hillside path, yelled at her while they passed each other and pretended to cough, "Affirmative Action!." He then turned to his friends and laughed, while Sasha had reportedly stopped short in her journey up the hill, shocked and a bit scared. She also had white students ask to touch her hair and ask her about her athletic scholarship (she doesn't play any sports).

When Sasha moved back to the Riverwest neighborhood after college, she said she was relieved because she felt more at ease there: "They would never say anything like that to me in Riverwest. At least here, they know better." Sasha also spoke of a lack of experiences with race-based stereotyping and ignorance in Riverwest as in contrast to mostly white areas of Milwaukee. On the mostly-white East-Side, where her boyfriend was attending some classes at UW-Milwaukee, Sasha reported more instances of racial disrespect. She said she receives "nasty looks" in these areas of the city, especially when she's "with [her] white boyfriend," she says. But "here [in Riverwest]….no." Sasha offers

a narrative for how occupying space that is coded as white produces a negative embodied experience of place, which contrasts to the race-neutral grounds of Riverwest:

> It's better here in Riverwest. If I cross the river to the [predominantly white] East-side I think it gets worse, or if I'm down Brady [also a majority white neighborhood], it gets worse. I for sure stick out more. And bars there. I would get more looks than if I was here.

Sasha is very aware of how the greater segregation of the rest of the metropolitan area affects her feelings of social safety in Riverwest:

> I'm from Milwaukee, and Milwaukee is so segregated, anything is diverse, you know? [...] I would say Riverwest is probably one of the most diverse neighborhoods in Milwaukee. Milwaukee's pretty segregated. When I say pretty segregated, I mean like, extremely segregated (laughs). And, I just, I wouldn't say it's perfect. I'd just say [Riverwest is] really good for Milwaukee.

And when I asked her to rate the race relations of Riverwest on a scale of 1-10, she gave another answer related to the constraints faced by the segregated landscape of Milwaukee:

> Like I said, I guess for me, um, there's like this idea in my head of where racial integration would be amazing, but I don't know if that exists in the world. So I can't say like, it's great. I feel safe here. I don't feel like I *shouldn't* be here, or people feel like I shouldn't be here. I feel more than

> welcome. I don't feel judged when I walk down the street at all. I think the people that do live here are more accepting and that's why they live here.

In emphasizing the almost fantasy-like nature of a perfect 10 of racial integration, renderings of neighborhood racial diversity by minority respondents are extremely bounded by the negative race relations they experience on their larger metropolitan or other locational contexts. Moreover, blacks' narratives emphasize a highly socially scrutinized embodiment of segregated space that didn't seem to constrain white respondents. Being more visible minorities in majority-dominated spaces, they are more likely to be targets of both bigotry and surveillance.

The black men I spoke with emphasized a similar comparatively-integrated perspective in their narratives of social-racial safety in the neighborhood that linked back to the deeper racial inequality in the larger context of the city of Milwaukee. Perhaps most interestingly, they balanced a deep sense of pride in the Riverwest neighborhood with a tentative acknowledgement that it was the best they could do. Bernie, a 60 year-old black man and community activist, reflected:

> I mean, Riverwest definitely has its failings in terms of race relations and racial understanding. But in terms of the city of Milwaukee, I don't think you can get any better. I really don't. This is the only place I want to live. I really don't want to live anywhere else. I've been here for maybe all but maybe three or three and a half years since '75 in Riverwest. It's mainly because...it's the vibe. That includes the racial vibe.

Comparing Riverwest to another neighborhood called Bayview with a reputation for being similarly activist-oriented and progressive in nature but also less racially diverse, Bernie joked that he would like to remake their neighborhood's T-shirt logo to say: "Bayview, yeah. How about: 'Riverwest: without black people…except that one guy.'" He let out a roar of laughter. Black respondents acknowledge that race relations in Riverwest could be better than they are, but also essentially say its social racial integration makes it the best place possible to live in the whole metropolitan area.

A championing of Riverwest as the best possible place for blacks in Milwaukee extended to black residents who had grown up in the neighborhood and seen many of its racial transitions. Henry, a 65 year-old black man and peace activist, is a Riverwest native. His parents actually bought a house in Riverwest 50 years previous to our interview. Henry says:

> Riverwest is diverse in terms of, first of all: as people of color, being able to buy a building 50 years ago...there weren't a lot of opportunities. And so this was an opportunity in terms of being willing to work with them. And coming from a large family that had been turned away often in terms of rentals, this neighborhood was different even then.

For Henry, like my other black interviewees, Riverwest is the place to be in Milwaukee partially because it is essentially less of a racist landscape than other areas of the city. Henry also proudly pointed out that the neighborhood was more accessible to minorities than other areas of the city because of the economic affordability and rise in rental units

in the neighborhood after some of the white families moved out when American Motors and shoe manufacturing companies moved out of the neighborhood decades before:

> I would describe Riverwest as probably the most diverse neighborhood in Milwaukee – with a lot of pride in saying that. And especially when you understand the roots. [...] And the neighborhood, because it was affordable, and gentrification, you know with people moving out and with more rentals, it became more accessible to people that couldn't own homes. And it became more diverse in terms of blacks and Latinos in this neighborhood it's more Puerto Rican, and a bit Haitian.

So while white respondents emphasized the symbolic value of diversity along with the potential for their contributions to de-segregating the city, black respondents' valuations of diversity were more practically driven. Their desires for diverse neighbors were ties to a desire to live without day-to-day disrespect. In reality, Riverwest was one of the only options for these working- and middle-class black Milwaukeeans to live with the respect of their neighbors and to avoid the emotional labor involved in "sticking out" as a black body in one's own community.

CONCLUSION

The initial finding that both black and white residents of the diverse Riverwest neighborhood both purportedly value diversity isn't the most surprising, because we would expect intolerant whites or blacks to at least try to move to less diverse neighborhoods (Bruch and Mare 2013). The greater contribution of this study is an examination of the ways in which racial inequality produces different racialized

valuations of diversity and how, in turn, these divergent approaches to neighborhood diversity reflect and in some ways recreate white privilege. To whites, racial residential diversity offers a chance to claim a tolerant and progressive place-based identity in a more authentic way, while to blacks, diversity represents a neighborhood with better economic advantages and without the race-based disrespect they face much more in parts of the city that are more white-dominated. A critical examination of this divergence exposes the privilege and power afforded to whites involved in these race-based motivations that derives from the uneven racial playing field facing blacks and whites in neighborhood selection in the first place.

These findings mirror the findings in a study of an intentionally racially integrated community of West Mount Airy in Philadelphia, PA. Perkiss (2012:415) writes:

> For many of these black residents, their interest in the community rested as much in the concrete, material advantages that living in West Mount Airy could bring as it did in the demographic ideal of interracial liberalism.[…] They [also] agreed that a nation predicated on the ideals of equality and democracy would necessarily bring them closer to tangible de factor and de jure civil rights action.

Whites, on the other hand, were able to "proudly display their liberal politics by remaining committed to the interracial neighborhood" (Perkiss 2012:417). The similarity of the findings and histories between the two neighborhoods, albeit during very different time periods, lend credibility to the validity of my study. It also suggests that perhaps there is something about intentional diversity that is initially driven by whites in a

predominantly white neighborhood combined with persistent racial economic inequality and a segregated metropolitan area that undermine the promise of social integration in these communities.

Empirical literature elsewhere indicates that branding communities as diverse in order to attract residents and resources often silences concerns about internal racial and class inequality (Bell and Hartmann 2007; Berrey 2005; Carter, Dyer, and Sharma 2007; Grube and Welz 2014; Kallus and Kolodney 2010), the Riverwest diversity discourse seems to pose similar risks to persistent internal inequality between residents. In fact, many diverse communities that market their diversity have been shown by other scholars to exclude the voices of the residents who live there who are not also business or local elites (Carter et al. 2007). Some other scholars have suggested, that whites may value diversity in ways that specifically allow them to disregard racial inequality within diverse contexts (Bell and Hartmann 2007; Berrey 2005; Perkiss 2012). Additionally, previous scholarship has established that even the neighborhoods with stable diversity require a host of additional conditions to remain that way, including the presence of multiracial leadership, the enforcement of anti-discrimination and fair housing laws, dedicated funds to help with these efforts, and community-based safety and jobs programs (Nyden, Maly, and Lukehart 1997). While many of these factors are present in Riverwest and have probably contributed to the relative stability of its ethno-racial diversity over the last few decades, the persistent racial economic inequality in the neighborhood and a majority-white community leadership is a topic that has gone effectively unaddressed. Here, comparisons to West Mount Airy are even more instructive. Both neighborhoods utilized

a middle-class notion of civility in their mission statements and attempts to retain the character of their neighborhoods as well (Perkiss 2012; Tolan 2003). "The neighborhood could never reconcile the relationship between racial inclusivity and economic exclusivity, white and black home owners continued to struggle to find common ground in the lived experience of integration, and residents wrestled with how to be a universal model of racial justice in a nation that was increasingly challenging the viability of racial integration" (Perkiss 2012:423).

Still, a widespread desire to embrace diversity by residents of multiple racial backgrounds is a positive attitudinal sign for black-white race relations in the neighborhood. This is especially the case for Riverwest, where such positive attitudes are coupled with mobilizations of residents in the name of anti-racism when faced with flagrant racist threats. In this way, the neighborhood residents' unified valuation of diversity itself therefore has the "potential to unite people around shared goals and aspirations" (Kallus and Kolodney 2010:417). Unfortunately, this vision of racial harmony remains severely undercut by the everyday racial inequalities that it can mask. And, because neither blacks nor whites valued diversity as an opportunity to form social ties with people of different races, this study also spotlights the limitations that racially diverse neighborhoods have for encouraging greater social connections between individuals from different racial groups – an aspect of race relations that has been shown in the previous literature to have the potential to improve race relations and decrease racial inequality.

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PAPER 3: DIVERSITY WITHOUT INTEGRATION: A CASE STUDY OF PRO-DIVERSITY NEIGHBORS IN A RACIALLY DIVERSE NEIGHBORHOOD

ABSTRACT

Neighborhood diversity is assumed to be at least a first step in making progress towards increased cross-racial contact, better interracial relations, and through these improvements, less racial inequality. Yet, there exists little to no evidence of these outcomes despite the rising amount of racially diverse neighborhoods across the United States. This study uses data from a year-long ethnography and interviews with 30 neighbors in a racially diverse neighborhood to examine the social-psychological barriers from technical integration, or people of different races living in close proximity, turning into social integration – the presence of cross-racial ties and significant cross-racial social interactions. The evidence examined in this paper suggests that the development of cross-racial ties among racially diverse neighborhood residents is hindered by the perceived threats posed by of both technical and social diversity. I also found that racial integration is limited by a discourse of racial integration that emphasizes the need for a natural accomplishment of social integration and opposes individual and government interventions. These social-psychological barriers to social racial integration present should be taken seriously by scholars seeking to forecast cross-racial contact in neighborhood contexts.

INTRODUCTION

The segregation literature commonly assumes that residential integration can solve social and economic inequalities caused by racial segregation (Berrey 2005). Yet, studies show that whites still dislike having even a small proportion of black neighbors (Farley 2011; Lewis, Emerson, and Klineberg 2014) and that whites continue to oppose government enforcement of open housing laws for black Americans (Schuman and Bobo 2015). At the same time, levels of black-white segregation have generally decreased, and Farley (2011) finds in his same study that whites generally have much more positive attitudes towards neighborhood diversity than ever before. Within this context, how do racially diverse neighborhoods affect race relations?

Prominent ethnographer, Elijah Anderson (2011), calls racially diverse places "Cosmopolitan Canopies" - "pluralistic spaces where people engage one another in a spirit of civility, or even comity and goodwill" (p. xv). However, Anderson didn't specifically examine how diversity in urban neighborhoods is related to cross-racial ties. And to date, only one study (Britton 2011) has directly examined neighborhood diversity's effect on cross-racial social ties, finding that neighborhood diversity correlates with higher reporting of black-white friendships by blacks, and lower reporting by whites. This paper builds on previous work (see Spitz 2015a and Spitz 2015b) to examine this understudied relationship (Hewstone and Swart 2011) between *technical integration* – people of different races living close together, and what I call *social integration* – the presence of cross-racial ties and significant cross-racial social interactions. More specifically, this manuscript examines how residents of a black-white diverse

neighborhood in Milwaukee, WI conceptualize racial integration and their roles within it and how in turn, those understandings support or erode the possibilities for social racial integration in their neighborhood.

Indeed, though the segregation literature often assumes that stable racial residential diversity in neighborhoods indicates some type of social or economic integration, many forms of race relations can result from technical integration – and not all are positive. As Ignatow et al. (2013) recently summarized, multi-racial neighborhoods can be characterized by racism, "neutral ethnocentrism," and/or "avoidance strategies" between individuals from different racial groups. These types of social race relations can significantly reduce cross-racial contact within a technically diverse neighborhood. Within these scenarios, contact in technically integrated neighborhoods can also be characterized by fear and other kinds of racial tension. In particular, several studies demonstrate that whites fear becoming victims of nearby blacks (Brunton-Smith and Sturgis 2011; Drakulich 2013; Housel 2009; Quillian and Pager 2001; Schuman and Bobo 2015), and sometimes call upon official police institutions and programs to enact increased surveillance and arrests within these neighborhoods as a result (Drakulich 2013; Pickett et al. 2012; Weitzer 1999). For example, Housel's 2009 study showed that older white women negotiated with police and owners of different urban spaces for additional security in response to their fears of being victimized by their black neighbors and their diminishing privilege within the larger metropolitan area that had previously afforded them a greater sense of security. In the multiple social contexts of race relations, it is clear that residents' understandings of

racial ‘others’ and their perceptions of their activities and roles in everyday neighborhood encounters can powerfully shape race relations among neighborhood residents.

To investigate how he perceptions of racial integration in turn shapes those racial integration practices and behaviors in the residential context, I draw on a year of fieldwork in the racially diverse neighborhood of Riverwest, Milwaukee and formal semi-structured interviews with 30 residents, workers, and business owners in the neighborhood. I find that the possibilities for social integration in the technically integrated neighborhood are constrained by understandings of social integration that are high threat and have little to do with an individual’s agency. In the following paper, I will begin by outlining concepts of racial integration in urban neighborhoods and communities and describe the analytical distinctions I make between technical and social integration. Then, I will review the literature on interracial contact and examine how scholars have conceptualized neighborhood racial diversity with regard to its effects on race relations. After discussing the details of my case study and methodological approach, I will discuss my findings and analysis through an exploration of interview and ethnographic fieldnote data.

TECHNICAL VS. SOCIAL INTEGRATION

This paper seeks to improve the conceptualization of racial residential integration by exploring how technical racial integration relates to social racial integration in the neighborhood context. Britton’s (2011) aforementioned survey-based study suggests that greater racial diversity in a neighborhood may affect social ties in different ways depending on racial group membership. Investigations of the effects of cross-racial

contact have focused on resultant attitudes, and even then, have not examined contact in neighborhood contexts. This research showed that positive cross-racial attitudes develop in a very limited number of circumstances such as when an actionable, common goal is present and when the socio-economic status of members of different groups is similar (Broad, Gonzalez, and Ball-Rokeach 2014; Hewstone and Swart 2011; Pettigrew and Tropp 2006.). The proposed study also expands literature on the contact hypothesis. As previously mentioned, the contact hypothesis states that inter-group contact will reduce prejudice between groups. Pettigrew and Tropp's (2006) meta-analysis of 515 studies found that contact between members of different racial groups was associated with less prejudice. Their subsequent meta-analysis (Pettigrew and Tropp 2008) shows that contact reduces negative emotions like anxiety and can also lead to empathy and other positive affect between groups. Ellison, Shin, & Leal's (2011) recent work, one of the few studies on prejudice against Latinos among whites and African Americans, shows similar outcomes for interracial contact between these groups. Because interracial contact is more likely with residential propinquity (Mcpherson, Smith-Lovin, & Cook 2001, Hipp and Perrin 2009), a racially diverse neighborhood is a particularly appropriate context in which to study intergroup contact. Moreover, these previous examinations of inter-group contact have excelled at showing trends, but ignored the *mechanisms* by which attitudes come to influence social action, the topic on which the present study focuses.

As the racial diversity of U.S cities and communities has grown, the body of literature on the social outcomes of such diversity has increased in tandem. While the gentrification and neighborhood transition literature has focused on instability in

neighborhood racial and class composition (Crowder, Pais, and South 2012; Lang 2013; Parisi, Lichter, and Taquino 2015; Tissot 2011), a smaller group of studies has zeroed in on the less common instances of stable racial residential diversity (Friedman 2008; Maly and Nyden 2000; Nyden, Maly, and Lukehart 1997; Rich 2009).

When neighborhoods become integrated, what does that change for the people living there? Do these diverse places actually become "Cosmopolitan Canopies," as Elijah Anderson (2011) calls them? Given Anderson's own observations about how black men are often the exceptions to this rule, and also the dearth of scholarship on how interracial contact is directly related to ties (Hewstone and Swart 2011), my dissertation takes Anderson's work as a point of departure. The fact that racial and ethnic homophily continues to be the norm in the United States for every kind of social tie, from marriage (e.g., Kalmijn 1998) to friendship (e.g., Shrum et al 1998), despite increasing neighborhood diversity, gives further cause to doubt a direct positive relationship between technical diversity and cross-racial ties. Hipp and Perrin (2009) performed a survey study on a small community in a Southern city and found that greater physical propinquity in residence was associated with more reported neighborhood ties for all residents, though this study did not pay particular attention to the role of race. Recent studies have also provided some evidence that inter-group contact can also propel the segregation and re-segregation of groups (Pettigrew 2008, Dixon et al. 2008).

The most well-known study of neighborhood effects is the Moving to Opportunity (MTO) study (Clampet-Lundquist & Massey 2008), a randomized field experiment that assigned vouchers to qualifying poor families to move into higher-income neighborhoods

and examined outcomes for the individuals that moved. The findings were that moving produced improved mental and physical health outcomes for parents, mixed behavioral outcomes for adolescents, and no long-term impact on socioeconomic status of adults. Wilson's (1987) famous study on the disadvantages of the black urban 'underclass' due to 'spatial mismatch' caused by the flight of jobs to the suburbs has firmly established the focus of the neighborhood effects literature on neighborhood socio-economic 'disadvantage' (usually a composite measure of average characteristics of a neighborhood like income, unemployment, poverty, racial composition, etc.). Rosenbaum and DeLuca's (2008) study of a Chicago's Gautreaux program, in which poor black families were relocated to wealthier and more racially integrated suburban communities, found that black women increased their interactions with whites in the neighborhood and felt more comfortable outside of black segregated communities. This implies the importance of examining the effect of neighborhoods on social integration and race relations. Additionally, these findings suggest that neighborhoods are meaningful to people because of activities that occur within places – not because the geographic space itself exerts an effect by virtue of existing.

Therefore, the qualitative approach that this project utilizes is crucial to understanding ground-level social processes produced in the neighborhood. Many scholars have questioned the value of using snapshot demographic data pertaining to census tracts or blocs to measure neighborhoods, since they often do not correspond to the socially-defined parameters of neighborhoods. The ethnographic research proposed here is uniquely situated to dig underneath the sociological conception of a neighborhood

as a static plane that individuals being studied (especially in longitudinal research) are "assigned" to (Sampson and Raudenbush 1999), often used by neighborhood effects researchers. The socio-spatial consideration can also expand the segregation literature, which often ignores how activities at the neighborhood level shape the "character" of a neighborhood (Maly and Nyden 2000).

RESEARCH SETTING AND METHODS

This paper is based on fieldwork and interviews with residents, workers, and businesses in one of the most technically integrated neighborhoods in Milwaukee, Wisconsin: Riverwest. Milwaukee was included in the top 5 hyper-segregated metro areas in the U.S. in 1990 and 2000 and is considered the second-most segregated city for blacks and whites in the United States, according to analyses done on the Census 2010 with the Dissimilarity Index (Logan and Stults 2011). And yet the city boasts only two neighborhoods known for their racial diversity, of which Riverwest is one (Tolan 2003). As Maly (2000) argues, neighborhood diversity should be measured contextually with regard to the population of the city surrounding it. Riverwest is much more technically integrated than the neighborhoods that surround it. In 2010, 61.9% of the neighborhood was non-Hispanic white and 17.1% were black, according to my analysis of the 2010 American Community Survey (5-Year). By contrast, the neighborhood immediately to the west of Riverwest (Harambee) is 7% white and 81% black. And a neighborhood immediately east of Riverwest (Riverside Park) is 93% white and only 2% black. In comparison with Milwaukee County's overall racial demographics, 66% white and 26% black group populations (2010 census, American Factfinder), Riverwest has a white

population only slightly larger than the proportion in the county. However, it is important to point out that Riverwest's racial diversity varies internally. One of the five census tracts that makes up the neighborhood, Milwaukee County Census Tract 79, would be considered segregated-white, with a white population percentage of 82% and a black population percentage of only 7.5% in 2010 (See Figures 1 and 2). This area of the neighborhood is sometimes referred to by residents as "The Gold Coast" of Riverwest because of the big mansions that line Humboldt Boulevard in this area. However, other tracts in the Riverwest neighborhood, particularly 80 and 107 in the south and western parts of the neighborhood provide much greater diversity. Both of those tracts had non-Hispanic white populations close to 50% and non-Hispanic black populations between close to 20%. Both of these tracts also had higher Hispanic populations: 26% in tract 80 and 19% in tract 107.

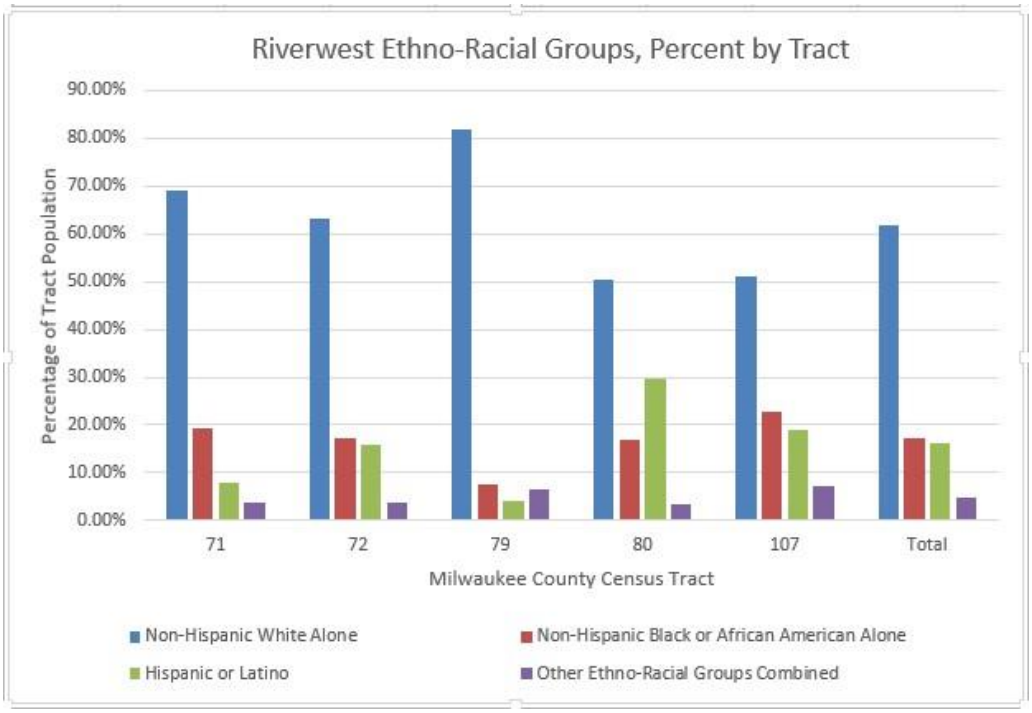

Figure 9: Differences in Racial Composition by Tract from 2010 ACS 5Yr Estimates

Figure 10: Census Tracts in Riverwest Neighborhood (71, 72, 79, 80, 107)

There is also some economic diversity present in the Riverwest neighborhood that breaks down geographically. Taking Reich's (2014) suggestion to define middle class incomes as households making 50 percent higher and lower than the national median, which is $25,500 to $76,500, about half of the neighborhood's residents could be considered middle class (2010 ACS 5-yr Data).34% of Riverwest Households were made under $25,000 and 17% made more. A poverty map shows that family poverty is unevenly distributed within the geography of Riverwest as well, however (see Figure 3). However, areas with poverty rates don't appear to overlap perfectly with the tracts that have greater racial diversity.

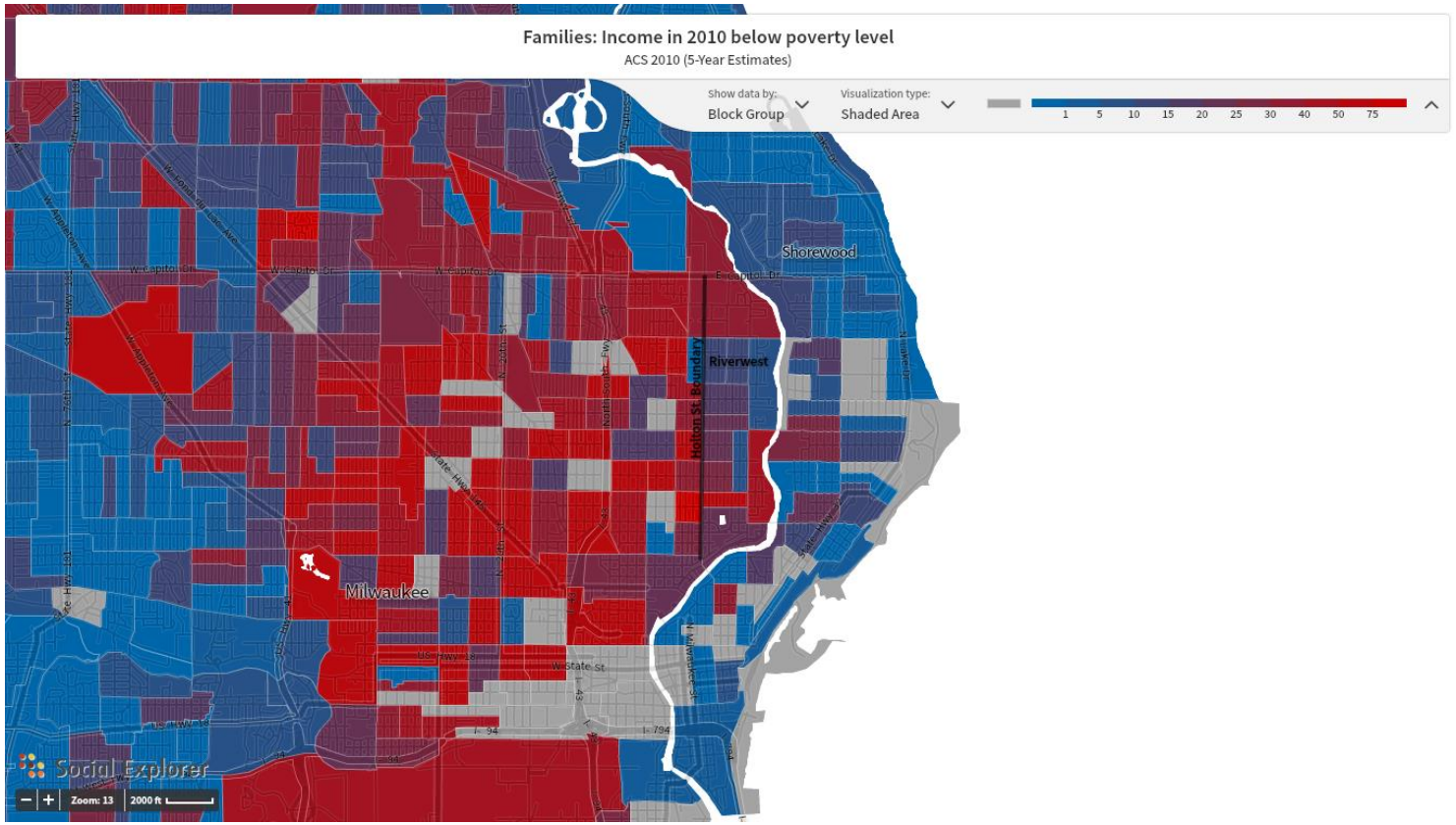

Figure 11: Family Poverty Level from 2010 ACS 5-Yr Estimates

I conducted ethnographic observations in the neighborhood for a period of twelve months in order to maximize the sample of places in which technical and/or social integration occurs. I spent the first six months of the research doing in-depth observations of a broader range of sites in order to identify the most diverse sites and events, and then narrowed the sample down to the most diverse places and events based on my observations. Because social practices are grounded in localized settings (places, events) on a smaller scale than the entire neighborhood, a focus on micro-spaces with the greatest potential for social integration was warranted. The triangulation between ethnography and interviews is particularly important because, in my case, neighborhood residents appear to greatly value racial diversity, raising the possibility of social desirability bias via respondents' attempt to portray the neighborhood as more technically or socially integrated than it is. My ethnographic observations and interviews resulted in rich, detailed data that provide evidence for multiple social and spatial factors that present barriers to racial social integration.

Semi-structured interviews complemented data on social dynamics between individuals observed through ethnographic observation by uncovering details on the role of racial diversity in individual neighborhood residents' lives. I made initial contacts for my interviews with neighborhood residents, workers, and business owners by visiting several places in the neighborhood. Later, I recruited others through a combination of snowball sampling and forming new contacts at social events and other sites in the neighborhood. The overall interviewee sample is a mixture of mostly black and white respondents, with a few Latino/a residents and two Latino business owners. My sampling

frame also varies by age because other studies have found that age affects the probability of, and level of desire for, cross-racial ties. An important part of my sampling technique is that, due to my initial sampling frame from community organizations and neighborhood events, my sample may over-represent neighborhood residents who are invested not only in the public life of their neighborhood, but also the value of the diversity there. Rather than limiting my research findings, this strengthens the extent to which I can analyze the contradictions between the pro-diversity interview data and ethnographic data that mostly lacks examples of wide-spread social racial integration. Furthermore, the networks revealed through snowball sampling are themselves data for this research. In particular, I found that almost all my white interviewees mentioned the same two black men that I should talk to for my research. Both of them, Jayden and Monk, are featured in this paper.

Interview questions asked about residents' attitudes towards their neighbors, their patterns of uses of different neighborhood places, and how they view the racial diversity in their neighborhood (i.e., how much they perceive that there is diversity, where they see it, and what they desire from it). I performed focused coding of interview transcripts and fieldnotes, after doing open coding with an initial 7 interviews meant to pilot the project during the spring 2012 as part of a UW-Madison interview methods course that narrowed the focus for my list of codes and my interview protocol.

ANALYSIS

Perceived Threats of Integration

I found that both black and white Riverwest residents perceived two primary perceived threats posed by technical integration in Riverwest, which served to disincentivize and undermine social integration between individuals of different racial groups there. One perceived threat is a loss of neighborhood value by renters and landlords that let the "wrong" renters rent and don't keep up their properties. The other perceived threat is safety, which is tied to the presence of black males on neighborhood streets. For the most part, interviewees didn't talk about "threats" of diversity using that language, however, which is not surprising given the high level of discursive avoidance that most Americans engage in to avoid appearing racist (Avery et al. 2009). But as I will show in the interview data below, it is apparent where race is part of these issues.

Perceived Threats Posed by Non-White Renters

In several examples, respondents utilized language that referred to renters in the neighborhood, sometimes without directly addressing the race of the neighbors they were referring to. Renters in the neighborhood are disproportionately black, and homeowners are disproportionately white. In reality, these racial differences do overlap with socioeconomic inequality, but the consistent focus by interviewees on their status as renters over their racial composition can be seen as strategically avoiding race-talk that would potentially associate them with racism (Castagno 2008). For example, when I asked James Gardner, a white 40 year old married father of a young homeschooled girl and homeowner about the diversity of the neighborhood, he responded by talking a lot

about problems that renters bring and absentee landlords that are not invested in who they choose to take-on as renters in the neighborhood:

> I get frustrated with landlords. They just have the ability to buy tons of properties, and that to me seems like a bigger issue. Absentee landlords. That's something that bothers me the most probably. They just like buy up all these properties and go live in Brookfield or whatever. They don't care, you know? They don't care who's coming in. They don't talk to us. You know: "Who would YOU like to have living next to you, because I'm making money off of this? I'd like to have your input." You know? That never happens.

James sequential connection of problematic renters to my question about racial diversity suggests that he associates a particular racial group with renters in this narrative. Later in our interview, James connected renters to problems with crime in his neighborhood and even on his block:

> Every block has its own rough family. I mean we have more rentals, and I mean, less care for the neighborhood. We have two neighbors who have been here for a long time, but they deal [drugs], you know. And they just bring traffic through, so. Most blocks have something to that effect.

Using crime as a proxy for racial minority groups is a common rhetorical move, especially by whites, according to a wide body of literature. But the racial coding of James' language is most clearly revealed when he starts talking about student renters, who are mostly white. In sharp contrast to his narrative of the criminal-prone or nuisance

renters, James has a more accepting view of student renters in the neighborhood, which he acknowledged had been growing in numbers for the previous few years as the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee campus expanded and built in a dorm building nearby. James laughingly mentioned, "The students bring a certain vibrancy to the community, you know? I mean, they have some parties, but they're not too crazy." James' attitude towards these different racial groups of renters is consistent with what scholars have found to be true about whites' attitudes towards their black neighbors in general – that they view black neighbors in a negative light if those neighbors also have low education and income (Taylor and Reyes 2014).

Interestingly, however, black respondents also responded negatively to the mostly-black renters in Riverwest and treated these neighbors as threats to the value of the neighborhood as well in their narratives. This may be because I interviewed black Riverwesters who were largely middle-class, and either already owned a home, or planned on one-day owning one. And as Freeman (2006) points out in his book, black homeowners and black renters can have opposing economic interests in neighborhoods. Sasha, a mid-20's aged young black woman, responded to my question about how she would change the neighborhood if she could by associating renters and their landlords with a lack of cleanliness in the neighborhood:

> [I would change] just how clean it would be. People would pick up their crap or care about their yards. Yeah, but that's the thing, it's mostly renters so nobody cares. The further south you go, the more renters there are. And the further north, past Chambers [Street running East-West

> through the center of the neighborhood], there's a lot more homeowners for families.

Sasha also made the relationship between race and rental vs. homeownership very clear when I asked her how she sees the neighborhood as segregated:

> Like I said – homeowners. A lot of homeowners are white and live in the north of the neighborhood and a lot of renters are minorities and they live in the south or the west. […] Black white and Hispanic is the diversity here.

There is a general distaste, then, for black renters, who are spoken of in a de-racialized way. Cohen-Marks and Faught's (2010) findings align with these narratives: though one's race doesn't have an independent effect on the perception of race relations in an urban area, relevant urban issues that are intertwined with race and class, such as neighborhood transitions, crime, and safety, aligned with the perception of neighborhood race relations. The result, as expressed by both black and white middle class neighbors, contributes to a lack of desire for contact with low-income black neighbors.

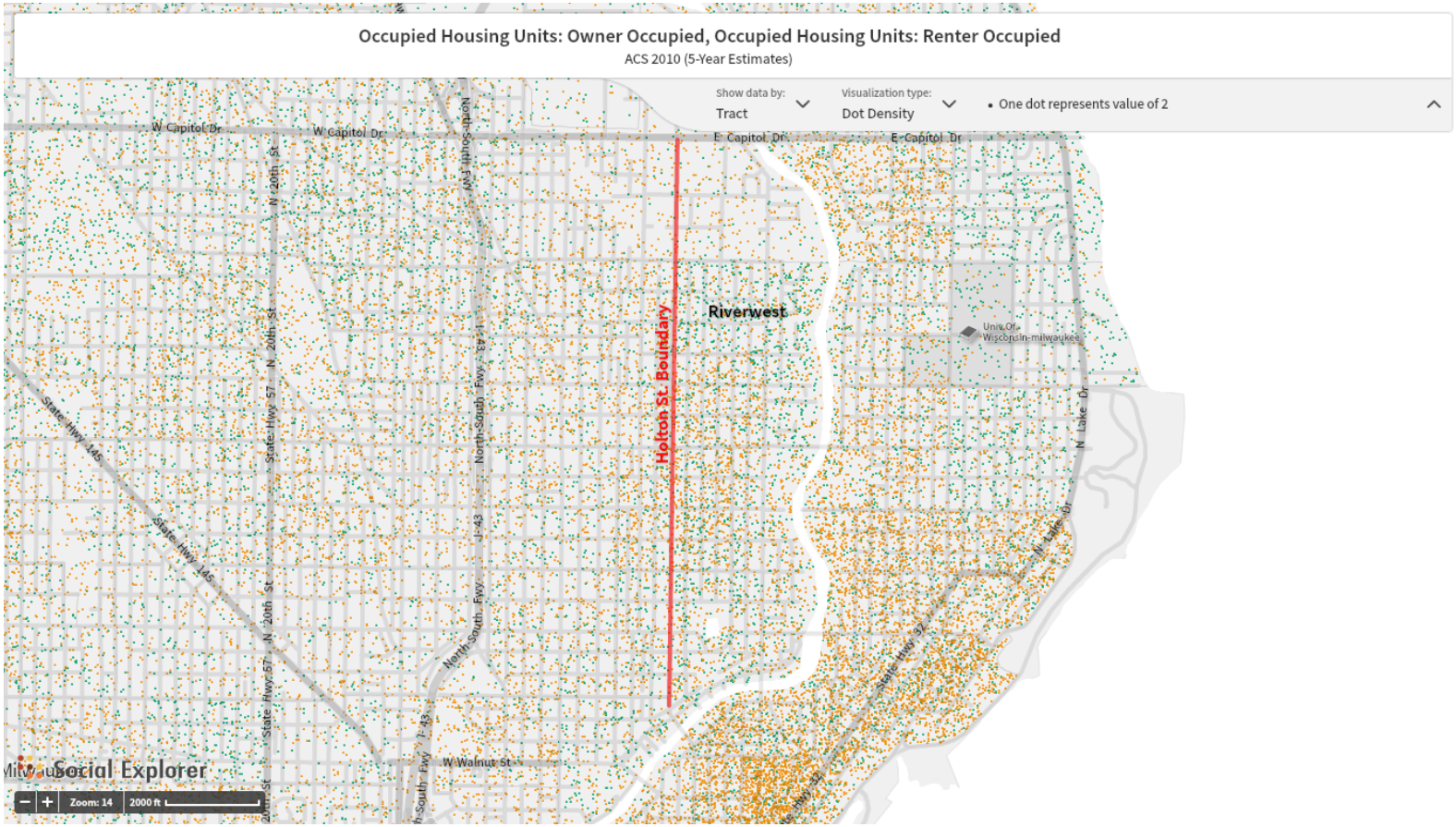

Figure 12: Renters and Owners in Riverwest, Compared to Surrounding Areas

Orange dots = 2 renter occupied households; Green dots = 2 owner occupied households

Perceived Threat of Black Men

Additionally, a generalized fear of black men in the neighborhood, who are both avoided and perceived as external to the symbolic community of the neighborhood, has created a significant obstruction to cross-racial contact in Riverwest. Stories of black on white crime, both personal and about others, came up as a source of black-white tension, and were an implied cost to residing in one of the only neighborhoods in the city that was racially diverse and located between a majority black and majority-white neighborhood. Within these stories, race was only sometimes mentioned, but it was clear the stories were all about black perpetrators. Maya, a light-skinned Latina woman in her mid-30s who "sometimes identif[ied] as white," was mugged two times in her six years of living in the neighborhood. Both times, the muggings were perpetrated by black men. The first time she was mugged, Maya was walking home with a female friend on one of the main streets around midnight where many of the bars, restaurants, and store fronts are located in the neighborhood after they had just attended a concert. A black man in his early 20s with no mask on walked up to the pair and reportedly demanded "Don't look at me. Give me your purse." The man had a gun held up to them at eye-level, and they complied as quickly as they could. A few weeks later, the police came to her place of work (a popular local café) and had her identify the man they had picked up for the robbery. As it turned out, he was also responsible to the robbery-murder of a Jimmy Johns' delivery man who was also a UWM student just a couple weeks after he robbed her. The second time Maya was mugged, she was also walking with a [different] female friend, also from a bar on a

busy street, but around 11:00pm. Maya reports that two black, male robbers who appeared to be in their early 20s:

> They were basically waiting for a couple of girls like us to walk home. […] And one guy each came after each of us. And they knocked us down, and grabbed our purses. On instinct, I held onto my purse and he actually ripped the pocket off my coat and shoved me down. And I got scraped up […] and they took off running and hopped in a car and drove away.

Far more common than personal stories of victimization, almost all of my interviewees provided narratives of robberies and assaults by black men and groups that had affected other neighbors in response to my questions about racial diversity in the neighborhood. One of the most infamous stories among Riverwesters was the Jimmy Johns' delivery driver murder that occurred in 2006, the perpetrator by whom Maya had been robbed. Much more recently, in 2011, a story of an African-American neighbor, business owner, and father of two was also murdered in the alleyway next to a popular African-themed nightclub in the neighborhood in a mugging gone wrong. Finally, in 2011 on Fourth of July, there was a mass attack of random seeming violence on a group of mostly-white young people hanging out at a neighborhood park to watch fireworks over Lake Michigan. As the story goes, a group of black teens walking from the lakefront in a group looted and vandalized a local gas station/convenience store and also stopped by this park and robbed and assaulted many of the mostly-white 20-somethings who were celebrating there. A similar narrative of random violence concerns the white owner of

one of the popular bars in Riverwest. He was shot in the back by a young black man, who fled on foot, right outside of his bar without even attempting to take his wallet.

A widespread fear and cautioning of all black men in the neighborhood was the result of the salience of these experiences and stories for neighborhood residents. For direct victims of crime like Maya, this meant that she "was definitely nervous to walk anywhere at all for a very long time" and "ended up driving to work a lot, even though I only live a few blocks away." Maya added that she also stopped interacting with strangers on the street altogether when she would walk outside. Her new more cautious view of life in the neighborhood is reflected in the following quote:

> I was mugged on the edge of a parking lot that is fenced in, and then there's a park, there's a business, and then kind of an empty green space. So, that's a nice thing and it makes for a beautiful neighborhood. At the same time, it also makes for these little areas that people can hide out. I didn't think like that until last year, but that's how I look at it now. Like I was talking with my neighbors about the fact that that court was terribly lit.

Likewise, James admits that he uses racial profiling to assess the safety of any given setting when he's walking on the street in Riverwest due to his own previous assault by a group of young black men in the neighborhood.

> Racial profiling probably happens all the time, I mean, even in my own [mind's] grid-work. When I see two young black males, I move away. I mean I've been hit before, like attacked kind of…mugged. But with

> nothing taken. It was probably just a gang initiation. It was videotaped. I was cracked across the head. That was in this neighborhood on Chambers Street. So I have to admit, you know, when I see a group of young black males, I'm usually wondering what's going to happen. There's a potential. And I would feel less that way, unfortunately, if I were to see two young white males. It's just, I think, kind of built in to who I am. Not that I consider myself a racist person, but I think we all have these lenses that kind of affect how we exist. It happens all the time.

The implied level of distrust both for black male neighbors and strangers walking on the street in the neighborhood is obvious. If one doesn't cut off almost all contact with every stranger on the street like Maya, another Riverwester might react like James – being specifically wary of black male strangers on the neighborhood streets. It becomes clear that this level of fear and avoidance deeply damages the perception of beneficial interracial interactions among cross-racial neighbors.

The flip side of this fear and widespread cross-racial avoidance is of course the experience of black Riverwesters. Though they feel more at home in Riverwest than the other much more segregated majority-white neighborhoods in Milwaukee (Spitz 2015b), black respondents generally reported feeling profiled or even feared in the neighborhood by some people. Jayden, a black Riverwester and neighborhood business owner in his early 30s, told me he was racially profiled by the police in Riverwest when he was 15 years old. He characterized this experience as a "I fit the description type of thing…that I looked suspicious." Jayden recounted,

> I was on my way home from somewhere and I saw a police car, and so I changed my mind, jaywalking, away from the police car. And my actions in general seemed suspicious, so they stopped me and talked to me. I was told that I fit the general profile of a suspect of burglaries in the neighborhood that were not far from where I was living…within a block or two of that area. So the suspects were African American and in their teens, and I fit that description, and I've been always heavy-set, like I think the suspects were.

Other tales from my black interviewees were of being feared by other neighbors on the street who didn't know them. Monk, a very popular black male Riverwest resident in his early 60s, describes a typical street scene where a fellow neighbor might be afraid of him:

> People see me walking down the street, in twilight or something, and I've got my hood on or something, and so they cross to the other side of the street. I'm clean shaven most of the time, so they don't get to see the grey in my beard. You know, I don't think I'm an intimidating presence, but I guess to some people I am. God bless 'em. You are better be safe than sorry. You know, I'm not going to blame them. Hell, I cross the street sometimes.

Likewise, Sasha said, while she laughed incredulously, that some white people in Riverwest are even afraid of her. It's more common she says, that people in the

predominantly east side of Milwaukee will express fearful stereotypical fears of her, but some white Riverwesters were too.

> People are always afraid of black people, so you know, people are also afraid of me. And I'm like a small girl, and I don't know why. People would either stay away from me or try to be too nice and then ask me if I had family in jail or if I have ever been somewhere where there was a shooting, if I'd ever been in a drive-by, and also just being overly nice. Thinking that I may have someone that can hurt them or something, I mean I don't know.

Being feared in public neighborhood spaces by your own neighbors have obvious negative implications for black people living in the neighborhood. Black Riverwesters likely face disproportionately high levels of interpersonal and police surveillance. Most relevant to this study, black Riverwesters (especially black men) are likely discouraged by these fears from reaching out to white neighbors that don't know them.

One way my interviewees talking about fear of black crime without specifically mentioning race was to associate all criminal activity with the majority-black Harambee neighborhood just west of Riverwest. Maya stated straight out that she "did not get the impression that a lot of these crimes were happening from people in the neighborhood." James also said, though he thought the difference between crime and population between Harambee and Riverwest was "overhyped," nevertheless there is

> a major ethnic shift when you cross Holton Street, with a higher percentage of African Americans, Puerto Ricans on the west side of

> Holton [in Harambee]. And every once and a while, we'll hear gunshots. And it's not coming from the east. It's coming from the west. And there's way more rentals over there…way more.

It is true that the Harambee neighborhood does have higher crime rates across most crime categories as compared to Riverwest (see Figure 5 below), but doubtful that Regardless James could tell the directionality of the gun shots from inside of his house . What's more certain about this excerpt is that James connects racial minorities and renters from the Harambee neighborhood as a source of crime that is outside of Riverwest.

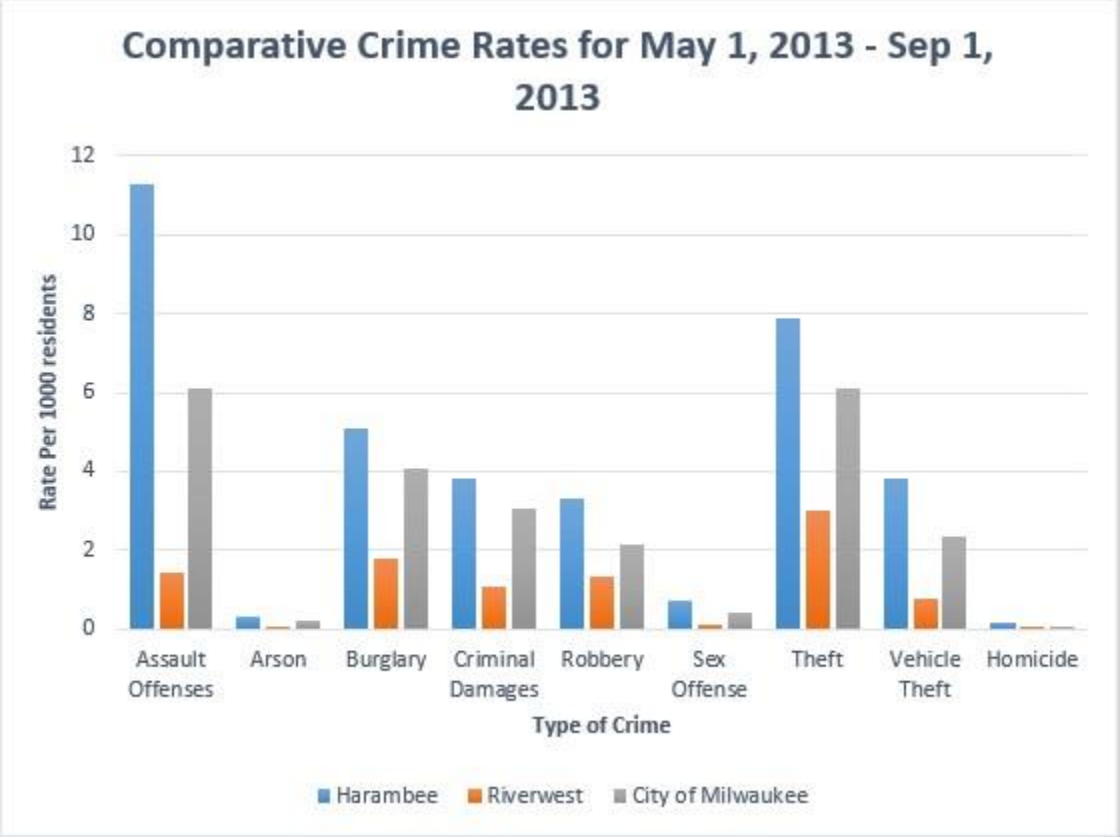

Figure 13: Comparative Crime Rates from City of Milwaukee/Information and Technology Management Division/COMPASS project

Likewise, Jayden makes very similar claims to James about the locus of crime in the area being Harambee. He argues that the media cause the perception of crime in Riverwest to be overblown. Jayden says,

> I do know that an outside perspective looking into Riverwest – people think it's dangerous over here. And I think it's because of the crime that happens in Harambee and the poorer skills of the majority of news establishments who mix- up Harambee and Riverwest. I've seen it happen myself on Fox news. At least twice when something happened around 1st and Burleigh [an intersection in Harambee that is close to Riverwest], they called the neighborhood Riverwest. That's NOT Riverwest. So a lot of people's perspective from outside of the neighborhood is that Riverwest is a horrible place. I believe it's an unfair rap. In the RNA [Riverwest Neighborhood Association], we have to make sure that people know it's not a bad neighborhood, even though it's depicted that way on the news every night. I think it's probably mostly Caucasian people that think like that, but I also think it spreads to other groups via them. They tend to have a negative view of the neighborhood coming from the outside looking in.

In a similar way, Sasha states,

> I think people are afraid to get close to Holton. People that I've known that have lived in Riverwest, have been like oh, there's this great apartment, but it's on Holton. So it was like, no I don't want to live on Holton. It's a crime thing, probably. Two years ago maybe a woman was

> shot at a bus stop on Holton. And that was on Holton and Concordia. There used to be a grocery store...she worked there, and it was night-time and she got shot. So it's probably a lot more dangerous. Like, you would rather live on Humboldt than Holton. And I personally would rather live on Humboldt than Holton. It's safer.

From my interviews, it also appears that this sort of racial geographic coding of safe and unsafe places might be institutional as well. In one blatant example, Maya reports when she was looking for a new apartment to rent in the Riverwest neighborhood a couple of years ago, "the rental agents wouldn't come right out and say it's a good thing that each apartment was far from the Riverwest/Harambee line. They would just say, 'oh, and it's this many blocks from Holton" as a selling point for the rental unit," referring to the obvious racial divide Holton Street signified.

To argue that Riverwesters are afraid of being victims of black people, and avoid black men especially in the neighborhood as a result, is not to either call Riverwesters racist nor to confirm their fears as completely legitimate. While a well-established theory of fear of crime states that those who are at the least risk for becoming victims of crime are often the most fearful [and vice versa), recent research such as that by Brunton-Smith and Sturgis (2011) found that neighborhood crime rates do align with neighbors' fears of victimization to a degree. More relevantly, the fear acts as an obvious deterrent to actual cross-racial interaction. Riverwesters who so love diversity (Spitz 2015b) remain deeply apprehensive of interacting with black or black and low-income strangers in the neighborhood context. After all, in their view, these interactions threaten their very lives.

A Disengaged Discourse of Integration

The final barrier to social integration was a discourse that encouraged a disengaged stance towards social racial integration. In one way, Riverwesters' diversity-talk naturalized technical integration that already existed in the neighborhood and therefore constrained the perceived role of individual action in social integration. Connected to that, interviewees had little to no behavioral scripts to draw upon that would enable them to imagine individual or institutional methods of advancing racial integration in Riverwest, which led to expressions of confusion around possibilities for improved social relations. Behavioral scripts are defined in the social-psychology literature as culturally and contextually defined norms that exist to guide action (Avery et al. 2009). These two discursive constructs of racial diversity and integration worked together to stymie both talk of and behavior towards cross-racial social contact and ties.

Many Riverwest residents conceive of their neighborhood as a community borne of larger structural or historical factors pushing people together due to forces outside of their own control. Nyden, Maly, and Lukehart (1997) term this type of approach to a racially diverse neighborhood as a "laissez-faire", because the community's diversity is attributed to macro-structural processes that are only indirectly related to collective or individual residents' actions in or around the neighborhood (e.g. stalled gentrification, revitalization of adjacent areas, etc.) (Nyden et al. 1997). Laissez-faire narratives of neighborhood diversity draw upon language that leaves racial groups as both distinct and divided, rhetorically reproducing what I have found to be true in the neighborhood: people of different racial groups largely keep to themselves. Moreover, Riverwesters'

narratives' emphasize a *lack* of agency involved in the racial mixing in the neighborhood, which contrasts to other narratives by the same interviewees that emphasize how much Riverwest community members love diversity and are motivated to stay in the neighborhood by this neighborhood characteristic (see Spitz 2015b). Describing racial diversity and racial change in the neighborhood as a passive process allows respondents to avoid considering their own roles in the (re)production of those social dynamics of race.

Debbie and Scott, a white couple in their mid-20's in the early stages of their careers who moved to Riverwest only one year previous to the interview, described their own block this way:

> Debbie: We kind of live right on the crossroads in Riverwest, the Eastside and whatever the [neighborhood] west of North Avenue is [called]. So, I think we see a lot of the different dynamics of those three neighborhoods kind of mixing together kind of where we are.
>
> Scott: [nodding in approval] Yeah.
>
> Debbie: You know, you we've gotten, where we are, some of all of it.

Rather than a view of their block as a place where people mix together as individuals, the emphasis is placed on the interaction of different racially segregated neighborhoods. Debbie mentions the Eastside – a mostly white, wealthier neighborhood and West of North – the poorer, almost all-black neighborhood of Harambee (Debbie didn't know the name of the neighborhood), suggesting that she is perhaps using neighborhoods as a synonym for racial groups. Debbie and Scott view the racial integration in a technical

sense, removed from social interaction, and even from people themselves. Moreover, they see mixture as a passive process. Though they say they moved to the neighborhood at least in part because of its racial and class "mix," they observe this mixture as if they are outsiders to a natural and decidedly un-social process. This contradiction either shows a mismatch between the goal of integration and its reality (which requires little participation), or a definition of racial integration that sets a low bar for social integration.

For other neighborhood residents, particularly longer-term residents, the racial integration of the neighborhood is the result of a historical process that brought different racial and ethnic groups together in the same area for different reasons. For example, Norman, a 63 year-old white Riverwest resident who has been active in many neighborhood community-building organizations since he first moved there in 1980, provides us with this neighborhood origin story:

> In the 60's - that's when all this racial turmoil was going on and the neighborhoods were changing. So when you have a dynamic area, and I think that this is a dynamic area, it's not that there's not anything problematic. In fact, it's those things that are pushing. So, [white] people like me come across the river because we want cheaper rents. People move because they tore down the buildings downtown, so the Puerto Rican and Black people come over here because they want a better neighborhood. And then there's these *things pushing people together and that kind of happens right here*. And it causes all this foment and some of

> it is positive and some of it is a little scary. Like there's crime. But there's crime over on the other side of the river [too].

This historical narrative emphasizes external factors pushing people together and the choices that these factors enabled or eliminated as central to pushing different racial groups into the Riverwest area. The push and pull factors varied by racial and ethnic group membership. Whites were looking for cheaper rents, and Blacks and Puerto Ricans were both forced out of their neighborhoods due to government led eviction and "renewal" programs. The non-white groups wanted a "better" neighborhood and whites wanted a "cheaper" one. In this narrative, Riverwesters had not sought racial or class diversity or mixing. Instead, mixing was an unforeseen outcome of simultaneous neighborhood transitions. Again, these narratives clashed with the general desire that these same residents voiced for racial and ethnic diversity in their neighborhood.

This historical narrative is shaped by and resonates with Tolan's (2003) recounting of how the neighborhood became diverse. Because of urban renewal efforts in the 1960s that the city of Milwaukee undertook that led to the demolition of the heart of the Puerto Rican neighborhood on the east side, Puerto Ricans moved just west, over the Milwaukee River to the southeast side of the Riverwest neighborhood, where they were still close to their former neighborhood. This contradiction between portraying racial integration as a natural process and yet actively working to preserve the character of the neighborhood (or complaining about neighborhood change) as a conglomeration of different groups is central to residents' narrative of neighborhood space. The dual perspective allows residents to legitimize either a passive or indirect approach to racial

issues in the neighborhood. Thus, even though neighborhood residents take great pride in the racial diversity of their neighborhood, it is portrayed by many of these narratives as happenstance, implying no need for community organizing or other social interaction that persists across racial lines that would lead to social integration.

Perhaps even more important to the disengagement with social racial integration was revealed by the long silences, tortured pauses, and looks of confusion to my questions about "what more could be done" to encourage social integration across race in the neighborhood in almost all my interviews. In contrast to the easy answers most interviewees gave to many of the questions, this line of questioning was notably new. Previous literature has found that whites exhibit a high level of discomfort in Black-White interactions than in same-race interactions unless their interaction role offered an accessible script to guide behavior, such as predefined roles within an organization or economic transaction (Avery et al. 2009). This uneasy social dynamic is made worse by whites' fears of seeming racist to blacks and by both whites' and blacks' desire to avoid confirming negative stereotypes about one another (ibid). At the same time, (Shelton and Richeson (2005) found that while both whites and blacks want to interact with each other more than they currently do, but these apprehensions prevent them from doing so.

James paused for a long time when I asked him about the possibilities he saw for promoting or encouraging more racial diversity or cross racial interaction in Riverwest. When I started to talk again to try to clarify my question, he interrupted me:

> No, I know what you're saying, but I just don't know how it could be done. I mean if it's a government program, like then it's like integration,

> right? It seems like for a vibrant neighborhood, it should be almost able to just HAPPEN, you know? So I don't know. I don't know how to answer that one. I think Milwaukee just has it like burned into its psyche. There are certain like borders, you know? Like, it's crazy. And it's really sad. It's a system that I'm confounded by.

James, like many other interviewees, brought up a government integration program, but quickly dismissed that as a non-possibility or negative thing. Six other interviewees did this in my interviews with them in response to this question. According to Dixon, Durrheim, and Tredoux's research on post-apartheid South Africa (2007), even among whites who have significant contact with blacks and [therefore] more positive attitudes towards blacks, they retain a resistance to government policies that would rectify black-white racial inequalities, such as affirmative action and land restitution. Ihlanfeldt and Scafidi (2004) found similar attitudes among whites in the US context. James also expressed the desire for increased technical and social integration as something that would occur organically, rather than with that sort of top-down intervention that government programs might represent in these narratives. This desire for a non-interventionist, natural process of increased racial integration in the neighborhood is consistent with the historical-structural narratives given by interviewees about how the diversity of Riverwest came to be in the first place.

And yet, Riverwesters do lament the lack of attempts by their fellow neighbors at social racial integration. For instance, Monk spoke of an experience he had with a new white family who had recently moved to the neighborhood. He had met the father of this

family at a Riverwest Neighborhood Association meeting that the man attended right after he moved to the neighborhood.

> This one white guy that lived up at Fratney and Townsend with his family. And a black family moved in across the street from him. He never bothered to go over and say 'Hi! How you doing? I live across the street.' You know, he never got to know them. So come July, they're having a party over there. They're blasting some music, gathered on the front-lawn and in the backyard. And he calls me up and he asks what to do. I go, 'what do you mean?' And he goes, 'it's really loud and I don't know how to approach them'. And I go, 'why don't you go over there and introduce yourself and ask them to bring it down just a little bit?' He says, 'oh gee, I'm kind of worried.' And that's when I said to him, 'Do you know their names?' 'Uh, no.' 'How long they been there?' 'Oh, about a month or so.' 'Did you ever go over and you know, meet them? It'd be a lot easier for you to go over there and talk to them about their noise if you knew them, they knew you.' 'Yeah I guess you're right.' Well.

Monk's narrative highlights the lack of social integration among cross-racial neighbors at the same time that it reveals Monk to be a sort-of cross-racial emissary, which would only be possible with at least a certain level of social integration. This confirms previous findings that while trusted cross-racial connections may be formed within a structured organizational environment (Kim 2012; Rich 2011; Stanczak 2006), those connections are far less likely in a general neighborhood context where it would involve strangers

interacting with one another. Stanczack's (2006) study demonstrates the role of religious institutions in activating an "integrated identity" in its racially diverse congregants through a shared morality of integration and regular social interaction among the integrated congregation and Kim (2012) showed that participation in group recreational activities facilitated the formation of cross-racial ties between Korean immigrant women and white American women.

But while neighborhood organizations can serve to create some limited cross-racial social ties among neighbors, neighbors in Rich's (2009) study perceived cross-racial interaction in neighborhood organization in the context of clear racial inequality in these same settings. The rest of Monk's narrative highlights this aspect of cross-racial relations within the Riverwest Neighborhood Association:

> Shortly after that, at the RNA meeting, I said, 'I have a question. If I were to move across the street from the folks here, how many people would come and introduce themselves and welcome me to the neighborhood?' All of them raised their hands. Then I asked 'What about if you didn't know how I was? If I was just a black guy moving in?' About half of those hands didn't come up that time. I think that some of the people that even put their hands up were lying. But my point is that there is and can be a racial divide here. And it will only get knocked down and get better if everybody makes an effort to make it better.

With this anecdote, Monk provides evidence of a more widespread lack of willingness for individuals in the neighborhood to engage with each other across racial lines along with a

desire to nevertheless appear tolerant and welcoming among the neighbors present at the RNA meeting. More broadly, this story adds to the evidence of a widespread sense of passivity among cross-racial neighbors towards social integration. This follows previous scholarship that finds that even when people express preferences for living in a diverse neighborhood, there is no translation into "distinct practices or social networks that enhance the integration of ethnic minorities into mainstream society" (Blokland and van Eijk 2010: 313-314).

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

In this paper, I presented evidence that the lack of racial social integration in technically integrated neighborhood is shaped by two prominent social psychological factors among neighbors. First, I demonstrated that residents of multiple racial backgrounds perceived high threats posed by both technical and social racial integration that threatened the status of the neighborhood and also their personal safety. In particular, neighbors living in Riverwest have a high level of fear of their black male neighbors, and often are therefore suspicious of black people who live in the nearby Harambee neighborhood. This fear stymies cross-racial and cross-neighborhood social integration in very tangible ways. Second, I showed that Riverwesters view their own neighborhood's diversity as a structural process that takes place outside of individual agency and that this organic, passive process is also how neighbors view the possibilities for social racial integration in the neighborhood. This discourse of disengagement was further elucidated by the near-universal confusion and long silences that respondents demonstrated when

asked what more could be done to improve race relations and increase cross-racial ties in the neighborhood.

Theoretically, I show that a two-pronged understanding of racial integration is needed to examine neighborhood level racial dynamics. Racial integration can be a problematic term when juxtaposed with racial segregation if it implies its inverse, because though social segregation is demonstrable within racially segregated contexts, social integration is not necessarily present in [technically] racially integrated neighborhoods. I argue that social racial integration is commonly stymied by a host of divisive racial attitudes and a discursive disengagement with social integration that together stymie efforts towards social integration in this avowedly pro-diversity, technically integrated neighborhood. Similar to the findings in Campbell et al.'s study (2009), racial diversity both motivates residents to move to the neighborhood, but it is "also used [by whites] to justify their preferences for interactions with similar others, as well as their fears of crime and value encroachment from" more marginalized neighbors (p.484).

Schmid et al's UK study found that community diversity increased inter-ethnic trust when positive contact occurred (Schmid, Al Ramiah, and Hewstone 2014). On a more practical level then, this study suggests the need for future studies that investigate mechanisms that forward positive cross-racial interactions among neighbors. Monk perceived the need for increased positive contact in the neighborhood as well:

> As more and more people have gotten to know their neighbors and recognized hey they’re just like me. They want a good place to live, they

> want a nice place to raise their kids, they want a place where they can recreate and have fun, they want a place to go to eat and some nice businesses to support the area and just good people. I think that's gone a long way to improve race relations or solidify race relations here and helped to strengthen the claim that 'Diversity is our Strength'.

Jayden also pointed to the importance of neighborhood-wide events that were specifically designed in order to draw an "eclectic crowd" and provide structured activities for cross-racial interaction. I agree. In the neighborhood context, I propose that organizational contexts, such as neighborhood associations, are perhaps the best equipped to set the stage and create programs to forward neighborhood social integration. Exploration of additional pathways and organizations is also necessary to achieve greater social racial integration in the neighborhood.

Though this paper points towards the need to engage with the discursive and social-psychological factors preventing cross-racial interactions and the formation of cross-racial ties, the literature suggests the need to address racial inequality in the neighborhood as well. Romero (2005) argued that studies that focus on racial attitudes often miss the larger issues of structural inequality that underlie those interactions:

> I cannot help but think that the most significant transformation results from praxis - joining the struggle and working alongside others rather than trying to talk our way out of a racist society. (p. 611)

Rather than dismiss the importance of cross-racial social interaction, future studies should address how racial inequality informs race relations in the neighborhood context. And

perhaps whites, who have more racial privilege, should take the lead in these efforts. As James suggested, another way to look at the social integration question "would be: How do we get white folks to go WEST [towards the black communities]. You know? And [how do we get white folks] to feel safe? But I don't know." This study suggests that the conditions of cross racial interaction, including the relative social position of the individuals, are of the utmost importance in shaping possibilities for cross-racial social ties. Future research should address these conditions in neighborhood settings in order to inform action around these issues.

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DISSERTATION CONCLUSION

The findings presented in my three dissertation papers present a largely negative view of social racial integration in the Riverwest neighborhood, despite its racial diversity as compared to the rest of the Milwaukee metro area. In the first paper, I talked about the role of micro-segregation and shallow boundary crossing in making seemingly racially integrated contexts actually segregated on both technical and social levels. In the second paper, I demonstrated how whites and blacks living in Riverwest valued the diversity of the neighborhood for different reasons that related (and could be seen as reinforcing) larger persistent issues of racial inequality. And in the third paper, I showed how the existing levels of racial diversity in the Riverwest neighborhood, especially as they overlapped with economic inequalities, came to produce a widespread feeling of fear of black people that undermined the possibilities for social integration in the neighborhood. I showed how this combined with a discourse of passivity connected to processes of racial integration to stymie neighbors' inclinations towards consequential cross-racial contact and social ties. As part of my concluding discussion, I think it's worthwhile to discuss some of the signs of hope for future efforts towards maintaining and/or enhancing technical integration and increasing social integration in the neighborhood.

NEIGHBORHOOD ACTIVISM AROUND 'BIG EVENTS'

The portrayal of the racial diversity in the neighborhood as a passive, natural outcome finds a revealing contrast in narratives (often by the same residents) of neighborhood activism around neighborhood racial transitions. Changes in the

neighborhood's resident composition or problems endemic to Riverwest are both fought against actively by Riverwest residents in order to preserve this 'natural' and diverse residential harmony. This is more in line with Nyden, Maly, and Lukehart's (1997:512) conceptualization of a "self-consciously" diverse community that has "developed an array of community organizations, social networks, and institutional accommodations to sustain [its] diversity."

In fact, similar to the self-conscious diversity in Nyden et al. 1997, Riverwesters also mobilize against common enemies that are threatening to erode some positive aspect of the diversity. For example, many residents of multiple racial groups mentioned the overwhelming community response to an incident a few years earlier when Nazi groups distributed literature in the neighborhood and sprayed racist graffiti around the neighborhood. People from the neighborhood across racial lines got together and marched down the main streets of the neighborhood in protest and made signs that still hang in people's windows today that say, "Riverwest: Diversity is Our Strength". One resident, a black Riverwest native nearing 70 years of age recalled this multiracial coalition action with tears in his eyes:

> I walked into a rally at the park down the street. There were 300 people. And so we got to work on that stuff [pauses, crying slightly]. I cry too easy. And we had this huge community meeting and we had testimony about what happened, trying to figure out who did it and then we established a plan, and we broke up into groups in terms of block watches, to see if any of this continues, to stop it. And one thing that came out of

> that is that we established yard signs that said, "Diversity is our strength." And they were all over the neighborhood, which was really empowering. And we established neighborhood celebrations, a couple in a row, in order to highlight our organizations and the good work in the neighborhood and how people work together. And we also established Undoing Racism training out of a center in the neighborhood for residents who wanted to learn more and understand more, and also offering it to leaders of organizations and churches in the neighborhood so that they would be in a better position to combat racism. And so that was effective. So it again solidified our neighborhood.

Maya, who I reference in a previous paper, also talked about how she felt the community response to a large black-on-white crime at Reservoir Park on 4th of July resulted in a multi-racial community activist response to reaffirm the neighborhood's commitment to safety AND diversity.

> There was a lot of buzz just about neighborhood safety happening around that time. So it was kind of a good time to reach out to people. The Fourth of July incident at the park ended up bringing together a lot of people from the neighborhood. A lot of people showed up at the community meeting. The victims of the reservoir park incident put together a statement that was on behalf of all 20 people or whatever it was that were involved. Their message was that the police response – they were extremely displeased with. They only sent I think a couple of officers and immediately told

> them they needed to clear the park. They didn't escort them out of the park. I mean this was a group of people that were hurt and you know feeling very victimized ad scared. The message I got from it was one that I've heard from a lot of people – that they felt like they were being blamed for what happened by living here. And the meeting was really multiracial and multiclass, so it was very impressive to see.

According to Norman, also referenced in my other papers, longer-term residents are engaged in a fight against the increasing amount of mostly-white college students moving into the neighborhood in recent years due to the expansion of the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee campus. These college students are not explicitly identified as white (even though most of them are), but instead as illegitimately coming from the majority-white and higher-income East side of Milwaukee. Neighborhood groups have organized to reject permits to build dorms in the neighborhood and made more concerted efforts to call the police on drunken, loud college parties occurring in the neighborhood. Social intervention and activism on the part of neighborhood residents to protect the current character of the neighborhood.

EVERYDAY NEIGHBORHOOD ACTIVISM

Unfortunately, it seemed like this multiracial social integration dissipated after these big events died down. Monk said it was hard to get a multiracial crowd together outside of these big events, however. Usually the Riverwest Neighborhood Association meetings are dominated by whites, for example. He wants to change that.

> What I've been pushing for the last three years is to try to get more black people involved [in the RNA]. […] The RNA is more of a cliquish type of organization, but that's because we have a lot of the same people that are dedicated that are doing a lot of the stuff. You don't get the volunteers like you would want to come and help out with this, or do this. It's the same ten or twelve people who are doing all the different stuff. It ends up being white cliquishness because there aren't too many black people currently involved in RNA. I actually don't know why there aren't more black people involved. Every time I had some opportunity to talk to some black person in Riverwest, I said my goal is to get more people of color involved and I need you to come over the second Tuesday of the month to talk about neighborhood issues. But I say I need to have more people of color participating…they don't show up. But I get that from everyone – white too. "Yeah I'll be there!" Then they don't show up.

So while respondents' showed that people came together to reaffirm the multiracial harmony and safety of the neighborhood in response to large neighborhood events, it appears that this social integration breaks down on an everyday level.

From my research, I think one of the major ways that Riverwest can move towards increased social integration is by using their already strong, progressive, and pro-diversity organizations to move towards an explicit agenda of social integration that acknowledges racial stratification, puts an extra responsibility on white Riverwesters to

share power with- and reach out to black Riverwesters, and to invest in programs and events that require cross-racial interaction.

Tackling persistent social and technical micro-segregation means addressing Riverwest's economic inequality along with the racial inequality in the neighborhood and in the larger Milwaukee area. James agrees. He says:

> I think a good question is why is the percentage of whatever it is African American males incarcerated in Milwaukee? And how do we deal with that? Cuz if we can deal with that and get some of those men to find a job and be able to have a more stable family, then they probably will move into a more vibrant neighborhood. Maybe landlords are more particular about wanting students and so they seek out students. And you know, they have the capability of saying no to people. Because the student is probably a more steady source of income than maybe a poor family is.

Indeed, the lack of attention to how racial and economic inequality overlapped was one of the main factors Perkiss (2012) pointed to as undermining the social integration in the West Mount Airy neighborhood of Philadelphia. A greater attention to how local racial inequality can contribute to the lack of social integration there could go a long way to formulating positive responses to this problem. Many of the Riverwesters I spoke to did seem to be aware of the role of racial inequality in creating tensions in the neighborhood.

Talk and social ties may not make racial inequality go away (Romero 2005), but because so much of the literature points to social connections as being an impetus for greater economic and even health outcomes for marginalized minority groups, it seems

like it might be a necessary condition that's missing from even the most self-avowedly pro-diversity neighborhoods around. I would argue that efforts towards greater racial equality must encourage social connections across racial groups in addition to continuing to fight for greater technical integration in neighborhoods, workplaces, and other settings. And there are signs that this might be possible. The Center for American Progress found that:

> More than 7 in 10 Americans—71 percent—support "new steps to reduce racial and ethnic inequality in America through investments in areas like education, job training, and infrastructure improvement," compared to the just 27 percent who are opposed. Finally, 61 percent of Americans say they would be willing to invest "significantly more public funds to help close [the] gap in college graduation rates" between black and Latino students and white students, compared to the 36 percent who say they are not willing to make such investments. Again, while whites are lower than minorities in their support, they still endorse this proposition by a margin of 53 percent to 46 percent. Source: https://www.americanprogress.org/issues/race/report/2013/10/22/77665/building-an-all-in-nation/

CONCLUSION OF THE CONCLUSION

Certainly, it should give us hope that a growing love for diversity shown by residents in Riverwest could be harnessed by well-informed, equality-minded organizations embedded in the neighborhood that seek not only to maintain technical integration, but

also increase social integration. If neighborhood organizations, such as the RNA, made social integration one of the main points of their mission, it might open up many possibilities to bringing Riverwest into a time of increased unity and better race relations. In turn, we could hope to see an increase in the possibilities for meaningful cross-racial contact and cross-racial ties that are necessary to see the hoped for outcomes that segregation scholars have been assuming would come with technical integration all along.

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